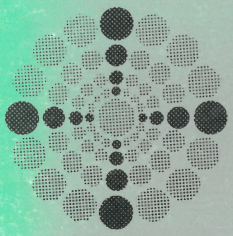

NATIONAL CENTRE
FOR CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES
AND NETWORKS

NEW CHRISTIAN INITIATIVES SERIES—No. 6

CHRISTIAN INITIATIVES IN PEACEMAKING

edited and introduced by BARBARA EGGLESTON

with reflections by DAVID GOSLING

Wesley House
298.4
EGG

NEW CHRISTIAN INITIATIVES SERIES

The National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks is engaged in carrying through a number of research projects on matters of major concern to Christians in the 'eighties. Each project operates by making direct contact with Christian groups and organizations actively involved in the matter under consideration. The experiences and insights of these groups are shared through correspondence, visits and consultations, before they are eventually written up for others to read. The findings are offered in order to enable a wider audience to be involved in a continuing process of discovery and Christian renewal.

Barbara Eggleston is the National Organiser of Christian CND. A past member of CND National Council, she left full time teaching in 1982 in order to work full time for CND. Barbara is also a member of the European Nuclear Disarmament Churches Lateral Group.

David Gosling is a Lecturer in Theology at Hull University. He is a former nuclear physicist, and Honorary Curate of St. Mary's Church, Cottingham.

298.4
8D9OP Ø88 246 Ø19

13402
5520027676
299.9
298.4
EGG

CHRISTIAN INITIATIVES IN PEACEMAKING

edited and introduced by BARBARA EGGLESTON

with reflections by DAVID GOSLING

WESLEY HOUSE LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE

©Copyright NACCCAN October 1983. Published by the National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks, Westhill College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. Designed by Alan Priestley and printed by Cambray Printing Services Ltd., Cheltenham.
ISBN 0 946185 03 4

CONTENTS

1 Introduction *Barbara Eggleston* 1

2 Case Studies — 'Swords into Ploughshares'
- Fellowship of Reconciliation 9
- Pax Christi 12
- Christian CND 14
- St. Francis Justice and Peace Group 17
- Leeds Inter Church Peace Group 18
- The Mennonite Fellowship 20
- Quaker Peace and Service 22

3 Case Studies — 'Of holy disobedience'
- Catholic Peace Action 26
- The Peace Chariot 30

4 Case Studies — 'Good News to the Poor'
- One World Week 34
- Christian Aid 36

5 Case Study — 'Seeds of Reconciliation'
- Peacemaking in Ireland 39

6 Reflections — 'Towards a Theology of Peacemaking' *David Gosling* 44

7 Resources 55

Peace (SHALOM) means everything which makes for the good of society, all that promotes community and social harmony, where the dignity, worth and rights of every person are cherished. Peace describes the state of a healthy society, among family and colleagues, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

DAVID GOSLING

INTRODUCTION
Barbara Eggleston

The idea for this booklet first appeared towards the end of 1982. It was a time when 30,000 women had linked hands to embrace the base at Greenham Common, and the anti-nuclear weapons movement had mobilised thousands throughout Europe and the USA to demonstrate against the new weapons deployment planned by NATO.

The debate about nuclear weapons had been taken up by all levels of society. The bulging press gallery at the February 1983 General Synod meeting of the Church of England was the sign of a wider phenomena. The debate focused on the Bishop of Salisbury's working party's report 'The Church and the Bomb' — the great interest showed all too clearly that for once the church had something to say that was of concern to the rest of society. The debate in the Church of England was not (and is not, for it still goes on) unique. Nearly every Christian denomination has had discussions, produced reports and issued statements on nuclear weapons. They have arrived at different conclusions, but all question to some extent our government's existing strategy for national defence.

What has been happening in the churches is mirrored in other areas of British society. Lawyers Against the Bomb is but one example, a group which specialises not only in giving legal advice to people arrested but also investigates and documents the illegality of nuclear weapons. Indeed the whole area of International Law is one that requires more publicity and research. Shortly after the June 1983 election it was the doctors who were making the next ripple with the report of the British Medical Association on the problems that would be faced by medical services after a nuclear attack. Seen by some in the government as 'yet more CND propaganda' it showed again how the debate on the nuclear issue in the 1980s is pursued furiously in all sectors of the community.

For many the nuclear issue opens the door to a wider concern for 'peace'. The title of this booklet rightly reflects that wider concern. Disarmament is easy to define — it means getting rid of weapons, by whatever means, uni-, bi- or multi-laterally. 'Peace' is not so easy to describe, but for many who understand it as the biblical concept of 'Shalom' it means far more than the mere absence of war. David Gosling examines this concept in his theological contribution to this booklet demonstrating that all the various initiatives outlined in the case studies are in some way working towards a vision of Shalom. Even so, there are

still many other kinds of peacemaking, for example in the family or community, that have been omitted largely because of the confines of space.

This booklet is based on the deliberations of a consultation organised by the National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks in May 1983 to which a range of Christian organisations and groups was invited. From these a smaller number was invited to write the case studies. The latter have a number of aims:

1. To outline the work of different organisations working in the field of disarmament/peace/justice.
2. To show the variety of intitiatives. It is notable that there is no *one* peace movement but a mosaic of different organisations all with diverse priorities.
3. To show the inter-relatedness of the various initiatives. There is a great deal of co-operation between the different peace movements, both in terms of support for each other's activities and in keeping off each other's areas. There is also a considerable overlap in membership. Inevitably different case studies refer to similar events or projects.
4. To give a theological and historical dimension to the work of Christian peacemaking.

This booklet is not just about nuclear disarmament, even though that is the central concern of many of the groups described in it. Christian peacemaking would need to continue even if nuclear weapons were abolished. However, at a time like the present, when new and more sophisticated weapons and systems are being deployed (e.g. Cruise and Pershing II), and the super-powers are engaged in a cold war that risks becoming hotter all the time, it is inevitable that the thrust of much peace concern should be directed towards the single issue of preventing nuclear catastrophe and seeking nuclear disarmament.

Here I make an attempt at an historic overview of the deployment of the 'Peace Movement', of which the groups included in the case studies form part. It shows that with all the ups and downs in popular support for disarmament since 1958, one thing is noteworthy: there has been a growing and sustained awareness amongst Christians, both individually and in terms of church structures, of the need to make a genuine commitment to peacemaking.

Peacemaking initiatives in the nuclear age

Peacemaking (in terms of war/peace/justice issues) has never been the central concern of most denominational bodies. The work of the Mennonites and Society of Friends is perhaps an exception — the work of these two 'pacifist' churches is described in the case studies.

For the most part peace/justice organisations, both of a Christian and secular kind, have had a lobbying relationship with all denominations. They have sought, on a range of issues from disarmament to racism, to

secure official statements of support and where possible actual resources of time and staff.

Certainly in the area of disarmament, though statements have been made with increasing frequency, the churches have generally stopped short of giving resources to the peace movements. Only in 1983 did the British Council of Churches, which for many years has made policy statements on matters of nuclear disarmament and international relations, decide to set up and fund a 'Peace Desk'. The Boards of Social Responsibility of both the Anglican and Methodist Churches, the Justice and Peace Commission of the Roman Catholic Church, and other similar bodies have produced reports and other literature. Many have been of a high standard. What they have so far not been willing to do is to associate themselves in any way with particular peace movements, even with peace movements formed within their own denominations.

Denominational statements on war and peace are not new. The Lambeth Conference in 1930 denounced war as 'incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ', and the British Council of Churches was not slow in condemning the British H-Bomb tests planned for Spring 1957 at Christmas Island in the Pacific.

Christian involvement in peace movements is not new either. The Christian specialist section of CND was formed early in the days of the campaign. Edward Carpenter, then Archdeacon and now Dean of Westminster, was Chairman. It organised vigils and marches. Later in the 1960s the Christian Committee of 100 was formed, several of its members going to prison for direct action protests.

So what *is* new? In many ways the 1970s witnessed a revival. But it is in fact more than that. In 1981 Christian CND held a major conference in Coventry Cathedral entitled 'Profess and Survive'. 900 people attended and it was possible to glimpse the potential for the future. Bruce Kent, General Secretary of CND, referred at 'Profess and Survive' to the churches as the sleeping giant. That giant is undeniably waking up — some church leaders at least are now prepared to stand up and be counted, and peace concern is no longer a position of the marginalised. It is well and truly on the agenda, and likely to stay there for the foreseeable future.

Why the revival?

There are those who would write off the peace movement and in particular the revival of CND as part of Kremlin inspired conspiracy. It is not. In fact if 'blame' is to be laid at any door it should be at that of the NATO governments whose plans and statements did so much to breathe new life into CND and other campaigns. The figures below show the sudden growth in CND, although there had been a gradual rise in members and activity throughout the 1970s. Other peace organisations record growth too, albeit less dramatic.

	National members	*Employees*	*Groups*	*Affiliated organisations*
1970	2120	5	50	n/a
1975	2536	3	60	158
1978	3220	3	102	293
1980	9000*	5	300	n/a
1981	20000*	11	700*	n/a
1982	50000*	25	1000*	1000*

n/a — figures not available * — approximate figures.

(Source: *The CND Story,* ed. John Minion and Philip Bolsover)

Let us look briefly at the events which caused so many people to make a renewed commitment to peacemaking. CND's figures of increased support at local and national level are relevant to the whole area of peacemaking. Although CND is not a 'Christian' organisation the figures also reflect the increase in Christian involvement. The 1982 a CND membership survey revealed that some 23% of national CND members were practising Christians.

Learning from the Dutch

In 1977 the first proposals to deploy Neutron Bombs in Europe were made. The Dutch, mainly through the IKV (Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad — Inter Church Peace Council), launched a petition which obtained a million signatures. They were able to do this because they already had a good network of local, community based 'peace' groups which for several years had been concerned with issues of justice and development. The IKV is an inter-church organisation in which all major churches in the Netherlands, including the Roman Catholics, are officially represented. The IKV works on behalf of the churches although the churches are not bound by the position that the IKV takes.

The IKV was created in 1966 in order to promote peace work in local parishes and congregations, as well as to speak and act on matters of peace, justice and human rights. It brings together many of the concerns to be found in this booklet. Since its establishment, its major activity has been its annual peace week, in which local churches and groups in all cities, towns and villages participate. In September 1977, the IKV launched a long-term campaign against nuclear weapons under the slogan, 'Help rid the world of nuclear weapons, let it begin in the Netherlands'.

The Dutch petition, and the enthusiasm of the Dutch campaign influenced Britain and other European countries. In 1978 CND launched a petition against the Neutron Bomb which gained about a quarter of a million signatures. NATO, realising the popular opposition to this new 'battlefield' nuclear weapon, announced the deferment of the deployment decision.

Protest and Survive

Throughout the 1970s the British government had been planning the replacement of Polaris, Britain's independent deterrent. By the late '70s the decision to buy Trident at the cost of some £7 billion had been made. In December 1979 NATO decided on the installation of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. Immediately local anti-missile groups began to form, especially near to projected deployment sites. East Anglia and Newbury Against the Missiles were two examples. By the end of 1980 many of these groups had become part of CND. It was to be growth from the bottom upwards.

In 1980 the Home Office published its Civil Defence pamphlet 'Protect and Survive'. This was a gift to CND and the proposals in it were demolished one after another. E.P. Thompson published 'Protest and Survive', and it was not long before the Home Office withdrew its own pamphlet and began to re-write it. In November 1980 Manchester City Council declared itself to be a Nuclear Free Zone and, following this, 160 other local authorities made similar declarations. All over Europe and gradually in the USA too, people took to the streets in ever greater numbers taking part in marches in capital cities and at deployment sites.

Much activity was directed towards the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations, held in June 1982. The World Disarmament Campaign was one group involved, and it has continued after the Session to work on other projects. From a disarmament point of view the UN Session was a disappointment. It was, however, a major focus for many groups, the input of the various non-governmental organisations at the UN being particularly positive.

The autumn of 1982 saw the biggest military and civil defence exercise in Britain for thirteen years. It was called 'Operation Hard Rock'. SANA (Scientists Against Nuclear Arms) produced facts about the real effect of the nuclear attack on Britain being simulated by Hard Rock. Using this evidence, CND announced its own version of Hard Rock, calling it 'Hard Luck'. Local authorities all over England and Wales refused to cooperate with the Hard Rock plans, especially the Nuclear Free Zone local authorities. In July 1982 William Whitelaw, then Home Secretary, cancelled the exercise because 'conditions were not appropriate' but went on to announce plans to compel local authorities to comply with Civil Defence regulations. This legislation in its draft form will be introduced to parliament in the autumn 1983 session, with considerable opposition from many local authorities.

The anti-nuclear weapons movement is much more diverse than this description can show. Many concerned people have not linked themselves to CND or to a local peace group. The Peace Camps are one example of this diversity of local activity. Along with the Peace Camps has come the development of Non-Violent Direct Action. Both these go

beyond mere 'tactics' for combatting Cruise — they are examined in more detail in the case studies.

Building Links

The various peace organisations mentioned in the booklet co-operate in many ways. They are co-ordinated to some extent by the National Peace Council which provides a mailing service and acts as an umbrella organisation. In 1982 this co-operation came into its own with the formation of an ad hoc committee set up to oppose the war in the South Atlantic. This committee organised regular acts of witness, and peace marches calling on both Britain and Argentina to cease hostilities and seek a solution to the conflict through the United Nations.

There are other important links. If, as has already been mentioned, the concern of the Christian is 'Shalom' then our movements should reflect this. Even if one particular organisation has limited aims, or a single issue for campaigning, it should reflect the wider quest for 'Shalom' in its links and co-operation with other movements.

Peace/development education is encouraged by all peace and development movements. Some may lay stress on a 'One World' emphasis, others on combating propaganda and giving information about war, weapons systems, etc. Whatever the emphasis peace education recognises that peacemaking is not just a question of changing government policy. We have to communicate the desire for peace and justice to all people, most particularly to the young.

Over the past few years the peace movements and the development agencies have begun to work together on areas of common concern. Often at risk to their charitable status some development groups have produced literature on the arms trade and on the mis-use of resources for military purposes (see the Resources list for details). 'Disarm for Development' was the name of the parliamentary lobby initiated by the United Nations Association and organised by the disarmament and development groups that took place in April 1982. Further examples of such linking can be found in the case study on One World Week, now an annual focus for peace and justice groups alike. It is perhaps the nearest that Britain has to the Dutch IKV Peace Week.

Experience, especially in the United States, has shown that other links need to be made. Why, for example, is the peace movement on both sides of the Atlantic so overwhelmingly white and middle class? Surely nuclear destruction is relevant to *all*? In December 1982 I attended a consultation in New York, organised by the Religious Task Force of Mobilisation for Survival and this issue was at the centre of much discussion. For the first time in a USA disarmament meeting there was a good representation from the black Hispanic communities. A Puerto Rican nun working in a poor area of New York explained the more immediate concerns of the

people in her neighbourhood, 'My people are involved in a war *now*' she claimed.

To those struggling with survival and seeking dignity in urban areas, and in the Third World, our concerns may be seen, indeed by some *are* seen, as diversionary. We need to show quite clearly the links between jobs and bombs, poverty and arms spending, racism and militarism. This is not just a cynical way of recruiting more support, it is a vital dimension to the search for peace. Some tentative steps have been taken in this direction; for example, Christian CND's Race and Peace Conference in May 1983. A great deal of work, study and co-operation remains to be undertaken with above all openness to others' needs and priorities, indeed to other people's definitions of peace.

This booklet attempts to show something of the diversity of the peace movement, in particular the different Christian initiatives that are taking place throughout the country. Why some may ask are there all these different organisations? Does this mean fragmentation? In response I would end this introduction with a quote from Sheila Oakes, General Secretary of the National Peace Council:

> 'In my experience the peace movement is united: united on abolishing nuclear weapons; united on stopping the arms trade; united on the need to stop using, or depending on, "military solutions". I think it is also united in believing and urging that a greater proportion of the world's resources should go to poor people throughout the globe, and that these people should decide what are the resources that they need; and united in its belief that people as well as countries have a right to freedom, independence and self-determination. It is not, thank goodness, united on how precisely to achieve a better sort of world, nor does it have a rigid blueprint of that better world. We are talking about futures, and these futures have not yet been tried.'
>
> (From *The CND Story*)

The future for Christians is the Kingdom. Thus the case studies that follow are not just about Christian peacemaking initiatives. They are seeds being sown for the sake of the whole of the human race.

Contributors

Gordon Matthews, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 9 Coombe Road, New Malden, Surrey KT3 4QA.

Peggy Attlee, Pax Christi, St. Francis of Assisi Centre, Pottery Lane, London W11 5NQ.

Dave Pybus, Christian CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4.

Hilary Fenton, St. Francis Catholic Church Justice and Peace Group, St. Francis of Assisi Church, Pottery Lane, London W11.

Pippa Julings, Leeds Inter-Church Peace Group, St. Stephen's Church House, Cranmer Road, Leeds 17.

WESLEY HOUSE LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE

Marian Landis, Mennonite Fellowship, 14 Shepherd Hill, London N6 5AQ.
Grace Crookhall-Greening, Quaker Peace and Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.
Fr. Tony Bartlett, Catholic Peace Action, c/o 7 Putney Bridge Road, London SW18.
Angela and Helen, The Peace Chariot, 220 Lane End, Chapeltown, Sheffield S30 4UJ.
Pat Gerrard, One World Week, P.O. Box 1, London SW9 8BH.
Richard Bainbridge, Christian Aid, P.O. Box No. 1, London SW9 8BH.
Lord Hylton, Ammerdown Centre, Radstock, Bath BA3 5SW.

(The views expressed in this publication are those of the individual authors and not necessarily those of the National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks.)

2. CASE STUDIES 'SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES'

The following case studies give an outline of the work of a selection of Christian peace groups, as well as of the two 'peace churches' — the Quakers and Mennonites. Some of these groups are denominationally based, others ecumenical. They all work very closely together. One of the features of the Christian peace movement is the way in which it is breaking down barriers between Christians. In seeking peace in the world, many are living out already peace in the church by sharing worship and communion across different traditions.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation

It is the first Friday of the month, so earlier this morning, from 7.30 am to 9.15 am, I was with seven other Christian pacifists outside the offices of the Defence Sales Organisation in Soho Square, in London. For more than a year now we have been holding a vigil across the road from the DSO on the first Friday of every month. We take it in turns for one of us to give out leaflets. This morning, at the start of our vigil, Cathie and Andrew took two pot plants into the DSO as a gift to the people working there. Most of them are now used to seeing us there once a month. Many of them smile and say 'Good morning' as they take our leaflet on entering the building. Only a few dismiss us as 'communists' or 'maniacs'. Our presence there inevitably confronts the death-dealing activities of the DSO. But we do not wish to fight with our fellow human beings. Our fight is against 'principalities and powers', spiritual forces of fear and hatred. We therefore seek to bring not only a physical presence, but also a spiritual presence. We seek to bring love, joy, peace, the only weapons that can overcome fear and hatred. Our pot plants were given 'in peace and love' and we seek to establish some sort of dialogue with the workers in the DSO, all of whom share our common humanity.

Most of us who take part in the vigil from month to month are members of a Central London group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR). We meet fortnightly and another of our regular activities is the running of a bookstall in Covent Garden on Saturdays.

Local activities

Here and there around the country there are other local FoR groups, which meet monthly and provide a basis of mutual support for FoR

members. Several groups have given out our specially designed leaflet at showings of the film, 'Gandhi'. In Oxford the local group has organised a series of discussion meetings on five 'Apostles for Peace'.

Most towns and cities are without a local FoR group, but individual FoR members not only involve themselves in the activities of peace campaigns but they also initiate projects of their own.

Gathering

Since most of our members are unable to find fellowship in a local group, the FoR is organised on a regional basis. Our twelve regions meet twice a year on average, usually just for a day. Regional gatherings enable otherwise isolated members to come together and find mutual support. In addition to regular regional conferences there are occasional non-violence workshops — day long gatherings for up to 20 people from throughout a region. These workshops are intended to enable people to develop a greater understanding of non-violence and to develop their organising and campaigning skills.

At a national level we usually have a weekend conference in the autumn as well as our National Council in May. In 1983 instead of a conference the pattern was changed and it was decided to hold a Youth Gathering. This will be a relatively small scale affair, which will enable our younger members to get to know each other and to share ideas and insights on the theme of 'Untying the Knots' — liberation from various forms of oppression.

The written word

As well as organising gatherings and conferences the FoR publishes two magazines, 'Newspeace' and 'Reconciliation Quarterly'. 'Newspeace' appears monthly and carries news of events, suggestions for action, information about resources, and articles about various aspects of Christian peacemaking. 'Reconciliation Quarterly' appears quarterly (as one might expect) and includes longer articles on a particular theme for each issue, editorial notes on current events and a comprehensive section of book reviews. 'Reconciliation Quarterly' is quite widely read and highly valued outside the FoR as well as by a proportion of the membership. Whilst 'Newspeace' is a useful resource for Christian peace activists, 'Reconciliation Quarterly' is of value to those with a more academic interest in peace and theology.

The theology of peacemaking is a major concern of the FoR. Several of the books and pamphlets which we publish are concerned with presenting the biblical and theological arguments for Christian pacifism. Others are concerned with disarmament or particular conflict situations, such as Northern Ireland or the Falklands/Malvinas. As well as books and pamphlets we are now publishing a series of briefing papers. The first three in the series cover 'Pacifism in the Early Church', 'Nonviolence' and 'The Just War in the Christian Tradition'.

The theology of peacemaking

Three of our current projects are concerned with encouraging a wider discussion within the churches of the Christian response to the arms race. We have asked Christians concerned with peacemaking, including non-pacifists, to respond to the question: 'What are the basis and priorities in Christian peacemaking in Britain today?' We received 70 responses and are organising a consultation on 'The peacemaking potential of the Christian community — Fresh direction for the ecumenical movement'. Earlier in the summer (1983) we sent out to church leaders a questionnaire asking them to sign their name to four statements relating to disarmament. Most were able to support the statements calling for a 'no first use' pledge and for a multilateral nuclear freeze. But few were able to support unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. We have also sent an appeal from a peace consultation in Uppsala, Sweden, in April to British delegates to the Vancouver Assembly of the World Council of Churches.

Active witness

In 1981 the FoR made its Christian peace witness visible in the form of a cycle pilgrimage from the island of Iona to Canterbury. Between Easter and Whitsun the cyclists made their way down through the country, holding meetings in towns and cities and holding vigils at military bases. There was a large conference in Coventry and at Molesworth there was a tree-planting ceremony: A bishop planted a cherry tree. In the midst of the following winter, on 28 December, that same bishop inaugurated the peace camp at Molesworth.

Like other peace organisations we organise workcamps, and particularly like them to have an international aspect. We held one in the summer of 1983 in South London on the theme of 'Communicating Peace'. There were 21 participants, aged 16 to 28, from different parts of Europe, including the German Democratic Republic. They took part in workshops relating to Christian peacemaking and undertook various activities such as street campaigning and drama. For more than 10 years FoR has been running a workcamp to provide a playscheme for children on neighbouring Catholic and Protestant housing estates in Lurgan, Northern Ireland.

At a national level we work together closely with other peace organisations, especially Christian CND, Pax Christi, Quaker Peace and Service and the Peace Pledge Union. We are actively involved in the National Peace Council, the Campaign Against Arms Trade and the recently formed Disarmament and Development Network. Together with QPS, PPU and Pax Christi we publish the Peace Education Newsletter. We have played a major role in organising five seminars on Nonviolence at St. James's Church, Piccadilly. We also give practical support to denominational peace fellowships, especially the Methodist

Peace Fellowship and the Baptist Peace Fellowship.

As a 'Fellowship', nationally as well as locally, we are primarily concerned with providing a network of support for Christian peacemakers and their activities. Over the coming months we shall be working to realise the FoR's potential as a support network for Christian peace activists by ensuring that our members are in touch with each other locally. We need to build up the spiritual strength of the peace movement. For our goal is the enthronement of Love in our personal lives, in community relations and in international affairs.

Gordon Matthews

Pax Christi

Pax Christi, an international Catholic peace movement, was founded in the aftermath of the Second World War to bring about reconciliation between the French and German people. Since then it has grown into a movement of fifteen national sections , each striving to bring about peace and reconiliation in its own country, and working together to bring peace to the world by various and ever-developing means.

Pax Christi's concept of peace is based on the teaching of Christ in the Gospel, the Spirit of the Beatitudes and the commandment to love our neighbours and forgive our enemies. Its work begins in the heart of each member and must spread from there in widening circles.

One of its first tasks therefore, is peace education, to lead children from their earliest years in the ways of peace, to teach them the value of every human being and how to deal with conflict without violence. Pax Christi's work in this field, in cooperation with other organisations, is expanding rapidly, as teachers meet and exchange ideas across the world. In Britain resources are building up in print, on film and slides. As Peace Studies become a more accepted discipline, visits to schools and even more usefully training courses for teachers are taking place. Information is provided by Peace Education News, edited jointly by Pax Christi, the Peace Pledge Union, the Quakers and the Fellowship of Reconiliation.

Not only children need peace education. A second thrust of Pax Christi's work is promoting positive attitudes to peace amongst adults. This happens in the first place in Catholic Parishes and groups, and beyond that to all who will listen. Publications giving the Church's teaching on peace and the relevant statements of recent Popes form the basis of written material which is distributed in Church porches and at meetings. Special occasions, such as the annual Peace Sunday and the Hiroshima Day Fast, form a good focus to draw attention to the issues of peace and nuclear disarmament, both at meetings and in church services. Pax Christi speakers are available to spread the word and to encourage the formation of local groups who will then inform themselves and draw in yet more supporters.

Much of the discussion at the local level is on the arms race, disarmament and the problems of deterrence and the nuclear war. Research on these topics is vital for the articulation of the case for disarmament to all levels of the Church, from the leadership down. This education of the church forms another part of Pax Christi's work.

When it comes to actual campaigning as distinct from education Pax Christi will be found with other peace groups, sponsoring the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, working closely with Christian CND and END. As with other groups its banner will be found at marches and protestant demonstrations. An increasing stress is being laid on the nonviolent aproach to demonstrating in Pax Christi, and there is a study of the methods of people such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez. An important development is training for nonviolence, particularly when some kind of civil disobedience is planned in conjunction with an action. Training sessions in nonviolent action are now being arranged on a regional as well as a national basis.

The Christian attitude to war and conflict is not only a negative one. Our command is to love our enemies, and to love them we must know them; more particularly we must know those whom propaganda tells us are our enemies. One of Pax Christi's international Commissions is concerned with contacts with Eastern Europe. Through this body meetings and visits are arranged with people of Eastern bloc countries, usually though not exclusively Christians. Links with the Russian Orthodox Church have been successfully forged.

These contacts naturally lead to questions as to our attitudes to human rights. Pax Christ is well aware that there can be no true peace without justice, and does not hesitate to speak out on the right to religious and other freedom, in both East and West. There is another International Commission devoted to Human Rights, and this body has shown particular concern for the situation in Central America and Czechoslovakia. The British section works closely with Amnesty International organising letters on behalf of prisoners of conscience and supporting a number of other human rights groups.

A particular concern of the British and Dutch sections is the situation in South Africa. No true peace is possible there until justice prevails for all the people. Efforts are made to arouse the support of the government and business circles in Europe, to encourage them to withdraw their support from this oppressive and rascist regime. Information is distributed concerning the position of the black people of South Africa and support is given to groups which are working for a just solution. In particular, Pax Christi gives support to South African conscientious objectors, many of whom have to seek political asylum in this and other countries.

Nearer home Pax Christi wrestles with the problem of peace in Northern Ireland. Again information and understanding needs to be spread, and support given to the many groups working for reconiliation in

that divided community. Pax Christi's most practical help is the playschemes for children run during the summer months at several centres in Northern Ireland. These are staffed by young volunteers coming from many countries of the world.

International volunteers also run hostels in England, where for a few weeks in the summer young visitors who are prepared to sleep on a mattress in a school building can, for a bargain price join a peace orientated community. More ambitious holiday makers can join the annual International Route, a walking 'pilgrimage' which takes place in a different country each year, arranged by the local Pax Christi section.

Like other peace organisations Pax Christi has grown in membership over the past years and there has been an expansion in the number of local groups. As this survey of our work has attempted to show both nationally and locally we use a variety of approaches — friendship, dialogue, education and nonviolent action. All are focused on our aim to change those attitudes and structures which maintain conflicts and prevent peace from becoming a reality.

Peggy Attlee

Christian CND

'Joy is Peace dancing. Peace is Joy at rest'. So said a friend, Edie, during a service at our local community centre. It's the kind of definition that captures quite well the aspirations of every member of humanity. It is hopeful, a fine vision of what we feel at moments of great blessing. Christian peacemaking is very much about enabling those moments to be lived by each and everyone. Christians however, are not alone in this work.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was formed in 1958 in response to the British government decision to test and develop its own nuclear weapon. Formed by Canon John Collins of St. Pauls Cathedral and Bertrand Russell it was from the start an organisation whose membership was not to be confined to one particular political, religious or social group. It is the broad based nature of CND which is one of its greatest strengths, and this has expanded with the revival of CND in the late 1970's. An opinion poll of CND members in 1982 showed that some 23% considered themselves to be practicising Christians, a much higher figure than might be considered if one looks at the level in the country as a whole.

The aims of CND are essentially practical. We believe that Britain should get rid of its own nuclear weapons and bases, not only to get 'the mote out of our own eye' but also to reduce the complications in the world disarmament process and to promote a climate of trust. So our call for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain is but a first stage in a global

multilateral disarmament process. CND also supports any policies that reduce tension and slow down the arms race. Thus we support the calls for a No First Use Treaty, for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and for a nuclear freeze.

Both the Christians and Non-Christians in CND have faith that in the words of the demonstration slogan for 1982 'Together We Can Stop The Bomb.' Of course there is a difference between saying "we can" and "we will". We do not have physical control of the weapons and so we have to bring pressure on those who do. Success will only come when we have put across our knowledge, insight and desires to more people, and hopefully our political leaders will also alter their views.

One way that CND has of spreading its concern is to work through its specialist sections. These are set up to concentrate on particular areas of opinion, for example students, trade unions, Christians. Their object is to spread CND's message within their own area and so win more support for the issue of nuclear disarmament. Christian CND is one of the largest and most active of these specialist sections, and has a full time organiser working from the CND Head Office. Its role is that of a catalyst and servant: providing news and information for Christian supporters of CND and enabling them to give expression to their desire for disarmament, encouraging discussion of the issues within the churches at local and national level and trying to turn interest into active commitment.

In many ways the sections activities are those of any church community: prayer, meditation, worship, witness and sharing of gifts. Supporters may be spread far and wide, but community spirit is possible. There is a quarterly newsletter 'Ploughshare', which keeps supporters in touch. A number of Christian CND leaflets are available as tools to spread the message (an example is one devoted to 'nuclear free communities'). Christian CND has a Council which meets six times a year in order to monitor the campaign, act as a channel for discussion between regions and responds to needs. Representatives of all the other Christian peace groups attend these meetings so that we can keep in touch with each other's campaigns and work together as much as possible.

This Council and its committees is responsible for the planning of national events and publications. Important past events include; 'Profess and Survive' a major conference in Coventry Cathedral in 1981, the Race and Peace conference in London in 1983 and the Peace Pentecost demonstration at USAF Upper Heyford in May of the same year.

It's not all plain sailing. In CND in the 1960's the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience was divisive. Now there is overwhelming support for such activity in CND, but there can still be disagreement amongst Christians and non-Christians and between members and non-members. For the Christian, the debate is usually about respect for those who have been placed in authority and the laws they make. Nevertheless, Christians — including ordained people have taken part in civil

disobedience, usually believing that to keep Christ's law can mean breaking the world's law. At Peace Pentecost for example, supporters illegally entered the base as an act of witness to pray and worship there.

Most members of CND organise themselves in local groups, and Christian members join at local level with non-Christians and share in the work of peace campaigning in their town or village. Working alongside those of different religious views to ourselves is a positive experience, as Christians we do not have a monopoly on the understanding of the folly of nuclear weapons; nor are we the moral conscience of the campaign. We can learn a lot from others, and hopefully they can learn from us too.

In some places there are specifically Christian CND groups. Supporters meet together to pray, study, relieve the isolation, and carry the campaign into their church communities. Their work has sometimes led to Cathedral size events as well as vigils at local bases, conferences, services etc. One of the side benefits of this local activity is a genuine ecumenism.

'Communists! Neutralists! Defeatists!' 'Kremlin's April Fools' 'Naive'. This is the image of CND that some people would like most people to have. True, there are members of differing political persuasions in CND, both left and right, but although CND is a political campaign it cannot be called party political. There is a great deal of respect in the campaign for the work of Christian CND, and a realisation of the importance of church support for nuclear disarmament. It helps a great deal when prominant Christians reflect this through work in support of the movement, Dr. Kenneth Greet (Secretary of the Methodist Conference) for example speaking at the 1982 CND National rally, or the Bishops of Kensington and Dudley at Peace Pentecost in 1983. Hope is strengthened when governing bodies of churches make statements supporting disarmament: the United Reformed Church, Methodist and Church of Scotland are three examples, but nearly all denominations have now said something positive. Thus, the public support of Christians can help give the lie to the smear charges and show that CND is a broad based movement.

Christian CND like all specialist sections has a voice within the Campaign itself. It is represented on CND National Council, at annual conference (CND's policy making body), at regional level and through publications such as 'Sanity'.

Bruce Kent the CND General Secretary at the Profess and Survive Conference in 1981 refered to the church as the 'sleeping giant'. Since then much has happened to give us hope that this giant is at last, although slowly, waking up. Partly we hope the activity we have generated has helped this change come about. There is however still a long way to go before the churches could be seen to be in the words of the title for our 1983 conference 'A disarming church'. This article has attempted to explain why there is a Christian CND and why it is important that

Christians as well as supporting specifically Christian initiatives also walk along the peacemaking road with others.

CND should not be our only activity, there are many other tasks facing us. Yet nuclear weapons — their manufacture, development and associated strategies permeate and divide humanity and threaten all creation. That is they infect the whole body of Christ and His Peace. Each individual is faced with a challenge: 'Is there anything, big or small, that I can do?' In the face of the threat we all face it is not surprising that non Christians travel together with us. As Christians however we have to be careful to ensure that our method is part of our message.

Dave Pybus

St. Francis Justice and Peace Group

Growing among grassroots Christians is an awareness that the world is becoming a more menacing and dangerous place. The outrage of starvation is ignored and those in seeming control, whilst proclaiming peace with their lips, ignore calls for justice and are precipitating us into a disastrous arms race which may lead us to the final catastrophe. The Gospel and the 'World' give directly opposing messages and formerly dormant christians can no longer fail to choose between the one or the other.

What can ordinary people do — here, now, with little influence or power? Most Christians are not high-powered, well educated people. Yet the Gospel is here for all. Surely the christian message is directly relevant in this situation because of the way in which Christ worked? He chose to be poor and powerless and his disciples were ordinary working people. In Notting Hill we have formed a parish-based Justice and Peace Group. We are a group which rejoices in being low-powered: housewives, pensioners, people from various trades and professions — a mixed bunch with different skills, problems and outlooks. Monthly we meet to pray and plan our work for justice and peace.

Christ chose the foolish way and was 'defenceless' against the military might of the Roman Empire. His power was prayer and love; his authority scripture. Our first task, therefore, would seem to be to follow his example. There is a need to renew our faith, read scripture, unlearn the values of the world, face our own aggression, channel anger constructively and learn that our only strength is of the Spirit. And if we, the Church, do not do Christ's work, no one else will. As a group we learn together, all members taking it in turn to lead in Bible readings. Individuals learn their own worth and capacity within a mutually helpful atmosphere.

Hard work has to be done, however. We can't deplore the arms race if we do not have even a rudimentary knowledge of the political and

economic scene. We need to know about alternatives to violence and other aspects of peacework. Organisations such as Christian CND, Pax Christi and the Quakers provide excellent guidance and material.

Our second task must be to work with the parish. Traditionally, the church is a place of 'decency and charity'. Hunger is a christian concern but justice? peace? Peacepeople are hippies with strident voices. What can be done to undo that image? If, in humility, we invite fellow-christians to join us in prayer, confrontation can be negated. We can trust in scripture to introduce new and radical ideas. Vigils, prayer, posters, demonstrations, fasting (always respected), discussion — these are all methods of connecting starvation with the arms race, and injustice with political and economic ideologies. Most important we connect war and stress with our own social values. Christ dissented from the values of his own society and so must we. But whilst challenging the prevailing views we must never judge the people who hold them. We need to win their hearts and respect.

Our third task is to contact other denominations and non-Christian groups. Mutual goodwill and commitment gives us strength; old wounds heal and a climate for change is created.

Then there is our final task; society at large! How do we change the materialistic, militaristic mentality of our nation? How do we get Parliament to listen and Americans to remove 'nukes'? These may be our aims but, as Christians, our thinking should be different. The end product is justice, hope for the starving and disarmament. But the beginning is the reversal of values which perpetuate the ways of Death. Perhaps a gentle group can live and give firm voice to genuine alternatives. Success would be nice in the short term, essential before very long. But, for us, living the Gospel is the way to do it.

We are part of an international Church. Whilst this sleeping giant is waking up the ordinary members can work in the parish, on the pavement, at meetings, as parent . . . questioning ourselves and others, organising, praying. We are at ground level and by being mentally, spiritually and socially active we can help in the overriding task of convincing ourselves and others that work for justice and peace is not an optional extra for a Christian but a fundamental Gospel requirement.

Hilary Fenton

Leeds Inter Church Peace Group

The Leeds Inter Church Peace Group was formed late in 1981, and has since then functioned as a group of five to ten Christians meeting monthly from Quaker, Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches. The aim has been to seek a distinctively Christian response to issues of war and violence, not just becoming one more activist co-ordinating group. At

times it has been diffcult not to become submerged either by one's own activities, or by simply paper-shuffling for other organisations!

The group's first major event was a public meeting, widely publicised throughout the churches, which helped establish its name, and get contacts for a mailing list. Dr. Alan Kreider, from the London Mennonite Centre, spoke on the church's historic views on war, showing powerfully how both 'Just War' and 'Pacifist' traditions converged in opposition specifically to nuclear weapons. The Shaftesbury Project filmstrip, 'War to End All Wars' (see Resources section for details) was also shown, and the meeting attracted some 150 people. This was followed up with a half day study conference for about thirty people, discussing issues raised at the meeting, and incorporating a service of readings and meditations. The following year, as well as an open discussion on the history of the Just War tradition, the group ran a second large public meeting at which Michael Randle, of the Bradford Peace Studies Department 'Alternative Defence Commision', spoke and led a lively discussion.

Other activities have included participation in marches (preceded by a Quaker meeting), organising services for Hiroshima and Remembrance Days, hosting the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrims, on their peace journey through Britain, praying at Menwith Hill, and sending out occasional newsletters. One member runs a bookstall on peace and justice issues, which is a useful resource for other churches, as well as providing new ideas and material for discussion and study.

All this gives the appearance of much activity, but it has not broken much new ground, and has only involved a very small number of people. We would like to be seen as a resource group willing to go out to churches for meetings. But there is little interest in this, and progress in sharing with others is slow. The one church study day we did organise only attracted two people! We also aim to develop prayer together as a group. Finding relevant styles of prayer for a mixed denominational group is difficult: wanting to give expression to concerns which in most cases have not been an important part of our traditions in the past. One positive action has been to organise the printing of a British edition of the 'New Abolitionist Covenant' a short two page booklet which helps focus prayer and Christian concern on the nuclear issue (available from: 'Aslancrafts', 86 Potternewton Lane, Leeds LS7 3LW, price 15p plus large stamped addressed envelope). It may be possible to produce a resource guide to this document in the future, if it proves of wide usefulness, and if people contact us with their various responses to it. An important role of this small group has been that of mutual encouragement of each other, and we have found sharing a meal together enhances our meetings.

There are certain distinctive qualities of an interdenominational group, which make it particularly worthwhile. Certain types of action and response to peace issues may only spring from the close commitment of a single church group, but meeting across denominational boundaries

opens up great potential for learning new insights from others. Different traditions all have their own peculiar strengths as well as weaknesses. But together there may be a chance to seek a wholeness of vision, in striving towards a common understanding of the Gospel of Peace for today.

Pippa Julings

The Mennonite Fellowship

Mennonites were banished from England in 1575 by Queen Elizabeth . Now, after 400 years, there is a small but growing Mennonite fellowship in England again; and interest in Mennonite/Anabaptist ideas seem to be growing . Who are the Mennonites? And what have we to do with peacemaking?

In order to answer those question satisfactorily, a brief dip into church history will be helpful. The Anabaptist/Mennonite movement originated in the early 16th century within the Protestant Reformation, when a small group of earnest young believers challenged the reforms of Luther and Zwingli. These believers felt that church membership should be voluntary, and that persons should not be baptised until they were old enough to *choose* to follow Jesus. Hence the name 'Anabaptist' which means 're-baptiser'. The name 'Mennonite' evolved from the name of one of the early Anabaptist leaders, a Dutch priest named Menno Simons.

The Anabaptist/Mennonite Christians were the first in modern times to advocate separation of church and state. They also believed that Christians should never use violence nor participate in warfare. They viewed the church as a family of brothers and sisters, in which all — including the leaders — were to be servants of each other. Their lifestyle was to be non-materialistic; some lived in communities in which there was total economic sharing. The authority for this way of life was the Word of God mediated through the Holy Spirit.

The Anabaptist movement spread rapidly, but soon met strong opposition. In a short time many Anabaptist leaders were killed, and persecution took a terrible toll. Because of this Anabaptist survivors sought places where they might live quietly according to their consciences. From 1575 to 1850 in many places the movement tended to withdraw and grew only by winning its own children to faith. In the mid-nineteenth century, spiritual renewal and missionary awakening prompted the Anabaptist/Mennonite people to face their responsibility to the world. Once again they began to share their faith with others, along with developing a ministry of emergency relief and development services.

The London Mennonite Fellowship grew out of this desire to witness and serve. The Mennonite House in North London, where the Fellowship meets and where 17 of its members live together, first functioned as an

international student hostel, a project begun by a Mennonite mission agency in North America in 1953. In 1981 the need for such a hostel seemed less, but the Mennonite Fellowship was growing, and so it was decided to phase out the student ministry in favour of developing an Anabaptist resource centre and a stronger Anabaptist/Mennonite community of faith.

From its beginning, the Anabaptist/Mennonite tradition has given clear teaching on nonviolence and peace. Menno Simons said, 'The regenerated do not go to war, nor engage in strife. They are the children of peace who have beaten their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and know of no war.' But practically speaking, how are we as a small Mennonite fellowship in the twentieth century in Britian living out our peace heritage?

Probably the most fundamental element of our peace ministry is the conviction that our peace role in the world should emerge naturally from among us as we experience forgiveness and solidarity with Jesus and each other. 'The church has no greater peace to give to the world than the quality of peace it experiences in its own fellowship,' wrote Merni King of Sojourners several years ago. Every time I reflect on that statement and even as I write now, I feel deeply humbled, for I know from costly experience that peace-living does not come easy, and that often the public peace witness we may give to the world is the fruit of a peacelife among us that is a very tender, fragile plant.

Our peace ministry is beginning to develop in three ways. First of all, we aim to help ourselves understand the roots of our faith in Jesus, who has called us to a new life which reflects 'justice, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Romans 14:17). We cannot call others to conversion unless we continually recognise and repent of the warmongering and fear in our own lives.

Secondly, we want to help other Christians, especially Evangelicals, to think about war and particularly nuclear weapons in light of our faith. To help enable this, we recently opened a Resource Centre which has a reference library specialising in Anabaptist/Mennonite theology and history, with a strong concentration of books on Christian attitudes to peace, war and the state. In addition, we offer a book service which sells more than 300 titles of special relevance to persons interested in peacemaking, radical discipleship, Anabaptism and other areas.

Thirdly, we increasingly understand that public witness, including nonviolent direct action, is an essential part of our peace ministry, Most of us have at one time or another participated in one or more of these: marching, leafleting, praying at a weapons show, vigiling, worshiping on a nuclear weapons base, speaking or debating about nuclear weapons. But we feel we are only beginning to shape this aspect of our ministry and are praying and thinking about how to witness publicly in truly Christian, courageous, imaginative — costly — ways. We believe that not to act

boldly against the annihilation which threatens our world is to be complicit with the evil which is causing it, and to deny the message of Jesus.

Essential to all this is worship, the heart of our life together. In worship we find our identity as the forgiven and loved people of God, who are being transformed by God's Spirit, even though that transformation may seem far away at times. As we worship we recall that as God's children we are to reflect the character of Jesus in the world, and thus we are impelled to speak and act against nuclear weapons, and to work for justice in other ways. Perhaps most importantly, through worship we find our ultimate security in the loving Fatherhood and all-powerful Lordship of God — a security which is big enough to enable us to dare to say No to war and violence. Because worship sets us free of the fear that drives people to depend on nuclear weapons, we find it to be a powerful form of public protest as well. In public worship, which may or may not involve civil disobedience, we not only say No to false ideologies, but also offer to the world the alternative way of faith in God.

Essential also to our peace work and life together is prayer. We struggle with our own failures and feelings of inadequacy. Prayer for each other and the world is crucial, for it links us with the inexhaustible resources of God. In our Sundary morning worship, we pray for those involved in peace work, world leaders, places and people experiencing intense violence and suffering, and our 'enemies'.

Our peace ministry grows on the vine that is our life together as a Fellowship. One does not flourish if the other is withering. Our hope is that we may increasingly see fruit in our lives which embodies the promise found in James 3:18 'Peacemakers who sow in peace raise a harvest of righteousness'.

Marian Landis

Quaker Peace and Service

'True religion don't turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it', wrote William Penn (1644-1718). Fashion has changed the grammar, and men have become people, but Quakers in the last quarter of the 20th century remain at one with the sentiment, which is consonant with their understanding that all life is sacramental, and any sacred/secular divide unreal.

Mending today's world is a daunting endeavour: militarism is growing, and with it instability in relationships east and west, north and south; week by week and month by month fresh damage is done to good hopes for the future, and fresh injustice and oppression make the ministry of reconciliation harder. As humanity appears to move closer to the abyss, there is need for constant renewal of 'true religion', for a deepening and

strengthening of the spiritual life of Meetings, churches and individuals including, increasingly, newcomers who need to find access and support.

Kathleen Lonsdale, the Quaker scientist, wrote of the physical and spiritual dangers of nuclear weapons: 'The real horror is not that we may be bombed, but that we should ever think of using the bomb on anyone else.' Already, in the southern hemisphere, people in urgent need of release from hunger, preventable disease and ignorance are victims of the pathological phenomenon of the arms race in the northern hemisphere, now of epidemic proportions. Third World politicians have also caught the contagion, equipping and increasing their military forces in preference to farms, clinics and schools. Aid from rich countries, already little enough, is reduced to pay for more and more 'defence'.

It was to draw together these twin areas, international peace and disarmament and justice and development, that the newly amalgamated department, Quaker Peace and Service (QPS) came into being five years ago to act as co-ordinator and agent for Quaker concerns, guided by committees serviced from Friends House, London. QPS workers serve there and elsewhere in Britain, Western Europe, the Middle East, Africa and in other developing countries. There is much co-operation with kindred organisations.

The 450 Friends' Meetings in Britain make use of QPS information, and maintain contact through a representative Council and regular mailings. Some projects originate in Meetings or with individual Friends, for example the East-West Mother for Peace, and the Peace Tax Campaign, both of which have widened beyond the Society of Friends. QPS can help with publicity even where a concern is not officially adopted.

Peace education, as well as campaigning to influence public opinion, has been a point of growth in QPS work. To this has now been added a development education project, which will serve complementarily. Work in schools has grown, and the Quaker Peace Action Caravan (Q-PAC), during its three years of activity has involved thousand of young people and their teachers in conflict resolution workshops which point the parallels in human behaviour at interpersonal, family, community national and international levels. The aim of a less violent world is expressed simply and understandably, and leads to deeper considerations where they are wanted.

Work to improve east-west relations includes academic seminars with participants from the Soviet Union and Britain, exchange visits and conferences, and continues a long Quaker tradition of contact with the Russians which includes dialogue with the Czars. New work in the Middle East will include opportunities for volunteers to work both with Palestinians and Israelis, and from this will be planned seminars, so that the experience gained can be shared with Friends. Human rights and the abolition of torture engages a working group in Britain and nearly a

hundred Friends in correspondence with prisoners of conscience who are known to be in danger of torture. A number of such prisoners have been released following these efforts.

A 'One Per Cent Fund' is administered by QPS to handle a voluntary tax on net income by Friends who believe that the British government should give at least one per cent of the Gross National Product for overseas aid. Some issues of concern to Friends involve communication with government ministers and officials: 'speaking truth to power' in the old Quaker phrase. For more than thirty years Friends have organised regular meetings of the London Diplomats Group whereby diplomats from many countries, including the super-powers, are brought together to discuss some important issue introduced by a prominent person in British public life. The Quaker Centre in Brussels similarly follows the affairs of the European Community and the Council of Europe, and has intervened effectively in such matters as the sale of war toys, conscientious objection to military service, and peace education.

A recent addition to the work of QPS has been the establishment of a Latin America Group, which works closely with the American Friends Service Committee. The present American government's policy in Central America is causing urgent efforts to bring a moderating influence to bear, and a new AFSC study by Philip Berryman *What's Wrong in Central America and What to do About It* is being brought to the attention of British Ministers and commentators.

Those who work in development projects are also peacemakers, although their activities may not appear to impinge directly on world affairs, or create the macro-economic changes which will ultimately be needed. Their programmes offer models for peaceful change and bring hope as well as help to the poor and oppressed.

In a tiny village in Bihar, India, a husband and wife medical team are training village health workers and treating all who come in from the surrounding arid countryside. They help the people to work co-operatively to raise their standard of living, and to express their needs to government. Further south, a Quaker secretary of the Nilgiris-Wynaad Tribal Welfare Society treats up to seventy patients a day at a dispensary he has just built. He also runs a 20-acre farm to earn income for the medical work and to demonstrate to a nomadic tribal people the cultivation of land.

In north-east Kenya a young husband and wife team works with a settled Muslim nomadic Somali population who were formerly nomadic at the Rhamu Rural Service Station in community health, agriculture and appropriate technology programmes which include tree-planting to create a better micro-climate and provide fruit. Further north, work initiated by American Friends Service Committee follows the Quaker principles of involvement on all sides of political frontiers: in a refugee camp at Darye Macanne, Borema, Somalia, another wife and husband

work alongside the displaced people to find what they themselves want. They have started chicken breeding to increase resistance to disease and produce more eggs, and are encouraging the cultivation of individual small gardens around the makeshift tents.

All this work of 'mending' a broken world is little compared with global needs. But Friends believe it is better to light candles than to curse darkness. There is no doubt that the work is wanted and needed. Above all, it is proof that a more peaceful world is possible.

Grace Crookall-Greening

3. CASE STUDIES HOLY DISOBEDIENCE

When Richard Attenborough's film 'Gandhi' finally arrived on cinema screens in 1983, after many years of work, it seemed to many to come at an auspicious moment. Detailing Gandhi's non-violent struggle against racism in South Africa, and British rule in India, it showed methods and a philosophy that were being taken up anew in Britain and elsewhere in the struggle against nuclear weapons.

Non-violent direct action does not have to involve illegality (civil disobedience), although both in Gandhi's action and in protests today it can play a part. It is not new to the British scene or confined to the peace movement. In the 1960s the issue of direct action split the CND. Today even if not all members of CND and the other peace groups take an active part in such actions there is considerable support for those who do. CND itself has a policy 'to support considered acts of non-violent direct action' where these actions are directed towards nuclear disarmament.

The two articles in this section examine the application of the principle of non-violent direct action in two important areas. The first looks at a Christian group, 'Catholic Peace Action', which has come into being to witness against nuclear weapons through civil disobedience. The second discusses the development of the peace camps and the work of one particular community 'The Peace Chariot'.

Catholic Peace Action

Our decision to carry out civil disobedience in resistance to weapons of future holocaust was taken at a retreat in early September 1982. It came as part of a year-long experience of meetings, action, prayer and reflection, at some point during which we took the name 'Catholic Peace Action'. Through this experience we gradually hammered together strong bonds of shared life, trust and friendship, on the basis of a common response in faith to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The central moment of this process was our understanding of 'compassion' — meaning a commitment to each other going far deeper than mere involvement in group action against nuclear weapons. It is a sisterhood and brotherhood that gives care, support and hope in circumstances much wider than this, and in the face of social and state opposition. It is 'church' in a dissenting tradition, as opposed to 'church' in an establishment role.

Essential to this understanding is the meaning it also gives to non-

violent direct action. This is not just a functional tool to bring about political change. It is an expression of christian conscience, resulting from its first principle, compassion. As such it stands as a simple proclamation of the truth in its own self, where that truth is love and faithfulness to human beings.

This sense of compassion has been vital to the group in the period since the decision and has enabled it to withstand the strains and shocks imposed by civil disobedience. Here is a brief outline of the history of the group and the development of its peacemaking activities. The group came together as the product of two independent endeavours in the Eastertime of 1982: a 'Pilgrimage of Hope against the Bomb' and a fast outside Westminster Cathedral during low week. The Pilgrimage of Hope was organised by the Justice and Peace group of a parish in Hayes, Middlesex. It involved a series of walks from Marble Arch to different parishes in London, carrying a cross of witness, and collecting signatures at the Sunday masses in a petition to the Catholic Bishops. The fast was called jointly by the Justice and Peace Office of the Southwark diocese and Pax Christi. A good number of people responded, witnessing against nuclear weapons by self-denial and hunger. Individuals from either project took part in both, and as a result of the exchange a meeting was arranged for those interested in non-violent direct action. Five days of prayer and discussion were then planned, and Dan and Carmel Martin, who had both participated in the fast, opened their home as the venue for the retreat. It was here that the theme of compassion took hold, and the actual decision for civil disobedience was made. The group at this time comprised a core of six or seven members: Carmel and Dan, who are parents of two young children; Sarah, a mother of five, a midwife and a former magistrate; Pat, a full-time church-worker; Linda, a theology student; Tony, a Roman Catholic priest; Betty, a mother and peace-worker of long-standing. Around this central core there was a larger circle of sympathisers and supporters.

In the months following the retreat Catholic Peace Action carried out these principal activities: a study day on the christian response to nuclear weapons; a visit to Greenham Common, including the celebration of the Eucharist; an anti-militarist demonstration at the Falklands victory parade; a liturgy of sorrow and repentance outside the Northwood Nato HQ, resulting in some media interest and publicity. Our working principles were set out as follows: we seek to follow the law of God as a higher value than the law of the land; the spirit and actions of the group should be invariably non-violent; the group should remain small, workable and closely knit; we meet on a regular basis for prayer, sharing and friendship.

At the anniversary of our first coming together two major events took place. The first was another fast — again for four days — outside Westminster Cathedral, in prayerful resistance to the Bomb. The second

coincided with the end of the fast and represented the culmination of our year-long preparation. It was our first act of civil disobedience/divine obedience, of conscientious law-breaking to affirm the law of God. On April 14th 1983 a gathering of over 30 christians walked from the Embankment, praying and singing, and arrived at the basilica-like portico of the Ministry of Defence. Four members of Catholic Peace Action stepped forward, and to the accompaniment of singing and scripture-reading scattered blood and ashes on the steps, pillar and door-frame of the building. The act was a symbolic illustration of the reality of nuclear war and at the same time a liturgy of redemption from its idolatrous power. The blood we used was our own and it was spiritually in union with Christ's, shed as a sacrament of love to save the world from its sin. We were arrested for criminal damage, taken to Canon Row Police Station and held there for five hours. During this time the charge was reduced to 'marking a building without the occupier's consent' (Metropolitan Police Act 1839), probably to give it less importance in the courts and the press. We appeared at Bow Street the following morning and pleaded not guilty. Our case was remanded to May 26th.

On the day of the trial about 60 supporters turned up to pray and be with us at the proceedings. During the prosecution four out of the six arresting officers crudely misreported our words and actions: unnecessarily, for we were not disputing the formal charge. When we came to read our prepared statements in defence, the magistrate refused to hear any mention of nuclear war or God! We were sent to the cells, one after another, for persevering with our statements in contempt of court. This in itself was an act of resistance and the event most seized on by the press. In view of the actual sentence given — a conditional discharge — it was probably the most telling moment of our action.

Resistance is in fact the other key value in the group, after compassion. It describes the external side of our action for peace, how we stand before the mechanisms of state and war. It is not enough just to feel outrage and alienation in the face of nuclear weapons, or even to work by normal political methods for their abolition, we are obliged to resist them. One of our 'foundation texts' for this was a talk given by US Peace Activist Phil Berrigan to FoR and Pax Christi in May '82. He argued that ordinary political methods on their own maintain the illusion that the state and its judicial system are normal and legitimate in possessing nuclear weapons. They in fact continue to give credence to the otherwise non-existent morality of the state in its holding of these weapons. He quoted Thoreau: 'Dissent without civil disobedience is consent'. Christian conscience demands that this phoney morality of the state be exposed, and this can only be done by non-violent breaking of the law. Christian resistance or civil disobedience/divine obedience removes the moral-religious sanction of a government planning for nuclear holocaust. This is its vital and irreplaceable contribution. In Berrigan's words: 'Only the faithful can cut

through the legal/lethal maze — taking the law into their own hands (life) to assert the law of life — compassion, justice, love of neighbour. Which is it for us — God's law or Caesar's? We cannot keep both.'

At the May 26th hearing it was clear that the legal system cannot cope with civil disobedience/divine obedience. After sending us to the cells the magistrate summoned us again, found us guilty and passed sentence, practically running from the court before he lost control of a situation he did not properly understand or did not care to. He applied the most lenient penalty possible, a conditional discharge. The impression was that of a large, smothering blanket wrapped around Catholic Peace Action to try and isolate and stifle it. (The police swarmed around us like uniformed anti-bodies to push us out of the court.) We were not sent to gaol because that would have placed the state in open conflict with christian conscience. The attempt was to make us disappear. We believe, however, that christian resistance is not going to succumb that easily to disappearing tricks. Press coverage and many personal reactions to the group after the event amply demonstrated that the witness at the MoD was heard and understood. The four defendants were set at liberty having clearly defied and denounced the state's war-machine. Their action ruled the MoD guilty and that ruling stands. This is the resistance of christian conscience. As yet the state has not acknowledged the situation by imposing real penalties on christian dissidents (nor indeed on others in the peace movement engaged in civil disobedience). It will continue to try and ignore them as long as possible. For the moment the fact that the law could not cope with us in a realistic fashion is a sign of victory. It does not have an answer. In the future it will probably seek a solution by trying to discredit those who opt for this course and certainly by getting the bishops to condemn them. If bishops refuse to disown their faithful it may feel itself obliged to persecute the bishops.

As far as Catholic Peace Action is concerned we believe we must continue to raise the level of the debate and resist through civil disobedience, so that nuclear war preparations are clearly seen as the crime and abomination they are. Our brush with the law has done much to puncture the mystique of power and fear that the state holds over us, and this demythologisation is communicated to others too. After the hearing the press (some of it) was very attentive to what we had to say. For a moment the means of communication are in the hands of ordinary people, not the politicians and the powerful. The reactions of many individuals, both written and spoken, after the events, confirm the view that civil disobedience releases a ray of hope in people's minds. The situation is not totally sealed, settled and out of our hands. It is possible, simply and effectively, to demonstrate the hollowness and falseness of the official wisdom. It is possible to think and act in another way. Such hope will motivate others, individuals and groups, to continue and intensify the moral argument against nuclear weapons and contribute finally to a

profound moral crisis for the state that holds them. As one letter said: 'Your action has encouraged us and, I am sure, many other professing christians to persevere in promoting thought, talk and action for peace.'

Civil disobedience/divine obedience is therefore central to christian rejection of nuclear weapons. It is not to be engaged in lightly, without serious thought and prayer, and the backing of a small-scale, supportive group rooted in faithful love/compassion. It is not a substitute for education and legal peacemaking (petitions, marches etc.). It is a handmaid to these activities and should never be divorced from them. What it does in fact is give a profound sign of their moral force and integrity, in a situation where the urgency of the issue and the complicity of the state make them on their own inadequate and even ambiguous. We hope and pray that the Churches in this country will more and more become a focus for christian resistance to the Bomb. We believe that civil disobedience is a necessary consequence of faith at this moment in history, and given due allowance to individual situations and personal strengths/weaknesses, it is urgent and also most blessed for many christians that they follow Jesus on this, his journey to Jerusalem, AD 1980s. It was there that he entered into confrontation with the authorities, in order to provoke their violence upon himself, absorb and neutralise it, and so initiate his kingdom of non-violence and peace. Christians do not have to initiate this kingdom anew, they merely have to stand by what he has already done. Now, more than ever, this faith cannot be expressed just in the calm interior of churches or the comfort of private prayer, it must come out on to the streets and into the military bases where nuclear violence is deployed against humanity. It is there that christians must give concrete and visible expression to the kingdom of peace left them by their Founder, following the pattern and example he set.

Tony Bartlett

The Peace Chariot

It is nearly two years since the first peace camp — at Greenham Common — began as a spontaneous action by women who had walked from Wales to protest against this proposed Cruise missile base. The seeds of the second peace camp had however been sown even sooner than this. The Iona to Canterbury cycle pilgrimage organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation arrived in Molesworth, the other proposed Cruise missile site, in the spring of 1981. The Bishop of Huntington planted a cherry tree on the base, and three Christian women, a Methodist lay preacher, a Christian feminist and a Quaker discussed the possiblity of camping there. This they did along with their supporters on Boxing Day 1981, forming the People's Peace Camp, Molesworth. Since then some peace camps have come and gone, and many have come and stayed.

One peace camp — at a proposed defence bunker at Bridgend in Wales, closed when its aims were achieved after refusing to move even when wet concrete was poured on them. Others have set up as temporary peace camps and then moved on — these were RAF Waddington, a Tornado site; Capenhurst where illegally acquired uranium from Namibia is processed; RAF Fairford an active air base and Brambles Farm Peace Camp, on land assigned for an arms factory.

The activities and actions at Greenham Common are well known, but much important work is being done by many other peace camps. Families against the Bomb Peace Camp at Lakenheath has drawn attention to the presence of F1-11 nuclear bombers. They are keen to live a non-violent life style as families and have been involved in many actions, a kite flying day, a blockade, a picnic on the base. Now they have set up a further peace camp at Sculthorpe while the F1-11s are temporarily stationed there. Upper Heyford is also an F1-11 base and has campaigned against MoD's buying of further land there for EF1-11s which with their specialised electronics equipment will give F1-11s a first strike capability. This site was host for the first major Christian CND action — Peace Pentecost when events demonstrated the Christian message of peace to people at the base. This camp also organised a four day blockade of the base which saw the first mass arrests for many years. Hundreds of people including Christians of all denominations have been inspired by the presence of peace camps to believe that civil disobedience is a necessary response of conscience and faith to the immorality of the arms race in which we are all implicated. The peace camp phenomena has spread to Scotland with camps at Faslane, Holy Loch and Lossiemouth and to Bishopscourt in Northern Ireland. New camps now exist at Weatherfield and Porton Down; at Daws Hill, and temporarily at Nap Hill both in High Wycombe, home of USAF Strike Command and the new NATO bunker respectively; and a weekend camp at Menwith Hill where international and British phones are tapped and where messages are collected from spy satellites.

All these peace camps are more than a protest against nuclear arms, the escalation of the arms race and our involvement in plans to kill millions of people and destroy the earth, its flora and fauna placed in our hands in trust for the future. They are also experiments in a new way of living. People who stay there seek to live together communally to learn non-violence as a way of being, to grow together by consensus without hierarchy, sexism, racism, credalism. They are places where people explore the connections between violence, exploitation, fear and greed; where the inequalities caused by sex, age and education can be questioned. In many ways these new lifestyles can be said to be forging a new and fresh theology, freed from hierarchy and institution and from the particularism that believes that one group has the monpoly of truth. There is a powerful recognition of the strength of the Spirit and the

spiritual, of non-violence as the lifestyle of growth, of the holiness of all creation. This but occasionally expresses itself in conventional Christian forms for so many feel unacceptably compromised by the churches' continued history of involvement in exploitation, elitism and violence. In this they can be seen as following Christ who reserved his heaviest condemnation for the religiously powerful and who died as a political disobedient and blasphemer.

Many people who have spent time at peace camps have moved on to other things, spreading and building on what they have learnt. We of the Peace Chariot are amongst these. Having spent a year at Molesworth, we felt ready for something different. We chose to be mobile so that we could be involved in non-violent actions in many places, in civil disobedience and as many have seen 'Godly obedience'. We provide non-violent direct action training, support groups in their actions and encourage people to speak, write and act from their experience. We have explored the area of nuclear weapons.

We wished to start a permanent community and the Peace Chariot is part of this. The opening lines of our sheet 'Towards a peace community' read:—

> 'We believe that getting rid of nuclear weapons is only the first step in creating a more peaceful and just world and that for such a world to exist we need to learn to live a more non-violent lifestyle. Our provisional aims are:
>
> — to provide a place where people can live together for short or long periods of time, non-exploitively. This includes growing food organically, developing forms of appropriate technology, sharing skills and developing new ones, working with the local community and developing awareness of the effects of our life style on others, including people of the Third World.
>
> — to create a base where people can train in skills needed by the peace movement, especially non-violent direct action; instigating and supporting actions and using the Peace Chariot to provide a travelling information centre.'

The Peace Chariot itself is a converted water board travelling workshop. It comfortably sleeps two. Its load includes a leaflet and information stall. Its cooking facilities have fed a 'gate' at Greenham, an Italian embassy vigil and many other actions. It has taken people as far as Larzac in France (where local people through non-violent means stopped the French government taking over their land for military purposes) and International Women's Day at Brussels. The Chariot can seat 12 and has carried over twenty on short trips, on marches in pouring rain or in crises during actions. The Peace Chariot makes us and those we work with flexible.

We do not want peace action to swamp the development of life style. We recognise that change is a frightening thing to people. Talking about

the possibilities is not enough, we have to try to do them in small ways in the here and now. We have to explore possibilities to show that change is both possible and spiritually and emotionally fulfilling. Soon four of us will be moving together into a cottage with land. We are also trying to obtain the nearby chapel and its land (your prayers please that the owner will sell). We hope that others will join us. We do not want to use mains electricity, but sun and wind as energy sources, because nuclear power, apart from its own inherent dangers fuels the arms race. We will not use chemicals or artificial fertilisers on the land, the earth has its own natural system for regenerating itself. We believe that these issues and many more are part of peace making, peace can only exist with justice for all parts of creation.

In August 1983 we will be fasting for 3 weeks in support of the International Fast for Life, because not only do we hunger for disarmament but we also want to unite ourselves with all those who suffer real hunger because of our greed and the waste of the world's resources on armaments. Peacemaking is something we believe must concern all aspects of our life. We seek to achieve spiritual wholeness and thus make our peace initiative.

Angela and Helen

4. CASE STUDIES
GOOD NEWS TO THE POOR

The Brandt Report showed very clearly the link between the arms race and poverty, disarmament and development. Peacemaking involves tackling the causes as well as dismantling the weapons of war.

This section contains two articles. The first outlines the work of One World Week, a week of education and campaigning highlighting issues of justice, development and peace. The second article focuses on a Brazilian education campaign, financed by Christian Aid and CAFOD, and highlighting the structural dimension to violence.

One World Week

One World Week, which has been celebrated annually in October since 1978, is an informal programme promoted and organised by the Churches Committee of the World Development Movement. With this parentage, it is obvious that the Week's main thrust was from the first seen to be in the area of third world development: WDM is a lobby for 'justice for the world's poor'; half the programme's funding came from the Labour Government's ill-fated Development Education Fund (which drew a strict line between 'development' and 'peace' education); the idea for the Week came from the models of Canadian and Swedish development weeks, which were both concerned mainly with justice/development issues.

It is still true that world development is the major concern of most local One World Weeks. However, it is by no means the only concern. The Week has increasingly become a vehicle for a whole range of related 'one world' issues: ecology/conservation, community relations/interfaith dialogue, lifestyle/appropriate technology and, not least, peace/disarmament.

The links between development and peace education in One World Week are particularly strong, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the dates were deliberately chosen, from the outset, to coincide with those of the Week of Prayer for World Peace: praying for peace and learning about development have been seen by both Weeks as natural partners and the relationship between them has become closer over the years. Secondly, the peace/development links were given a great reinforcement by the Brandt debate. Willy Brandt's own commitment to peace comes strongly through the report, in some of its more readable sections and memorable

phrases. The report as a whole provided a whole new momentum to One World Week between 1980-82 and the disarmament/development theme was an important element in this upsurge of interest. Thirdly, One World Week has always been a D-I-Y programme, leaving a great deal of latitude to local initiative in the planning and running of the programme; it has also encouraged co-operation between the activists of different 'one world' groups at local level. As a result, many peace groups have become involved in organising their local Weeks, which in very many places now have an important peace education component, while in some cases, One World Week has become first and foremost a 'peace week'.

Pope Paul VI said that 'development is the new name for peace'. One World Week provides an annual opportunity to proclaim the organic link between justice, peace and development in a number of ways. This can be seen best in practical examples of One World Week events:

An all-night youth vigil is held in one town, as a joint One World Week/ Week of Prayer for World Peace event. At each hour, a theme is introduced by film, drama, dance or simulation game. This is followed by song, discussion, meditation. Representatives of local peace and development groups — the Justice and Peace Group, Christian Aid, CAAT, WDM, CND, Amnesty, the Community Relations Council, etc. are each responsible for preparing one section of the vigil, but plan together to present a coherent message. The vigil ends with the eucharist and the planting of a tree, symbolising life and hope for the future. The advantages of this event for the young people's understanding of the links between development and peace are obvious, but, perhaps equally important, the planners also learn a great deal about each others' work and gain a fuller sense of the context in which their own particular concerns should be seen.

In another town, the local Council of Churches is anxious to improve its relations with other faiths and sees One World Week as an opportunity to do so. However there are problems! Some Christians are uneasy about interfaith worship, which they see as potentially compromising their beliefs (and the same may be true of some members of other faiths, though their leaders are probably too polite to say so). And there is the question of a neutral meeting place and common ground on which to meet. The search for peace — between races and religions, nations and ideologies — provides the common ground and the catalyst needed for action. An evening is set aside during the Week, in which a peace pilgrimage takes place: the pilgrims, from all faiths, move round the town, from mosque to church to synagogue to temple. At each stopping-place hospitality is offered and prayers for peace in the tradition of the hosts. The common commitment to peace is acted out in the parable of the pilgrimage, with each participant able to contribute, learn and share on an equal footing. And the sharing *is* peace-making, as well as a peace witness to the wider community in the town.

In yet another place, a Mothers' Union branch may mark the Week by showing CAAT's 'Arming the World' slides and even — with a little persuasion — playing the 'Choices' simulation game that goes with it: or the Council of Churches may offer prayers for peace and development — perhaps based on the excellent Week of Prayer for World Peace leaflet — to all its member congregations, for use at the morning service on one of the Sundays. The reader will probably be able to add plenty of equally valid examples from her/his own experience. The essential goals that each should attempt to achieve, regardless of the specific content of the activities, are:

— to reach the uncommitted majority
— to involve them as active participants in a new experience
— to lead on to further action and reflection on justice, peace and development.

Pat Gerrard

Christian Aid (with CAFOD)

Suddenly an alarm clock sounds in the dawn. The man gets up and begins his day of frantic activity. He's late so he gets nervous. His wife begins her day too, a day which includes a long wait for the doctor to see their little girl.

This could be the story of many British families but in fact it comes from a slide set produced in Brazil. The slide set looks at poor people's experience of violence. The little boy gets a slap from his mother because she is at the end of her tether. Zefferino, the man in the story hates the noise at the factory and the ever present danger of industrial injury. Then he has to face the journey home and he's terrified of being mugged. There is a mugging, but this time he is not the victim. They know that everyone is suspect to the police, especially the young and black people.

The family switch on the TV. The commercials sell a dream world of affluence beyond their reach. On the news an official says that to end violence it is necessary to use force and the police are there to cary out his orders. The victims of police violence are assumed to be guilty.

The slide set then goes beyond the immediate experience of violence. Zefferino and his wife Marta begin to reflect on what the TV does not show. The queues, the appalling health services and poor transport. They think of the way so many peasants are expelled from their land to make way for large scale modern agriculture. They begin to see that the sufferings of people are forms of violence — like the violence of dangers at work, the violence of having nowhere to live. Violence has a long history in their society going back to the violence of the slave trade in bringing negroes from Africa by force.

When they discuss with friends in their local Christian community they

find that everyone is discouraged and afraid of violence. Then they look at the Bible and the way the Jewish people made their journey from slavery in Egypt. They read about Mary when she tells her cousin Elizabeth of her dream that the poor will be filled with good things. They talk about Jesus who washed the feet of the poor and who told the rich young man that he must take 'the option for the poor' by selling all that he had. Jesus antagonised powerful interests. He was not intimidated by the power of the state. He was tortured and killed but rose again and is with us now. As the discussion moves on people think through what it means to have Christ with them in the struggle for justice. They know that violence is the fruit of injustice. They need to meet violence not as passive victims or aggressors but with unity, organisation and fellowship. This means organising themselves in what are known in Brazil as basic Christian communities, fighting for better working conditions in the factory, working together against injustice. By tackling the roots of violence in society they are in a real sense working for peace.

'Brotherhood Yes, Violence No', as the slide set is called, was produced for the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo by a team of educators founded by Paulo Freire. It forms part of the Archdiocesan Brotherhood campaign for 1983 and was partly financed by grants from Christian Aid and CAFOD. It is particularly geared to the basic Christian communities in Brazil like the one Marta and Zefferino belong to. The producers worked very closely with the communities, tapping their experience and perceptions and carefully checking with them before it was finally completed.

The whole educational campaign, including the slide set illustrates the support that the institutional church is giving to the communities. The degree of support varies from diocese to diocese of course. Much of the church in Brazil is traditional and pietistic in outlook, both theologically and pastorally. But there is a growing number within the church who have made a clear stand. They have decided to work with the poor. These people are not in a majority, but they are active and have become central to the work of the Catholic Church in Brazil. Cardinal Arns, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, who is one of the leading figures among those who have made this choice put it this way:

'The church in Brazil has chosen to be on the side of the poor and defend their rights. Because of this we have to question our economic and political systems . . . There is hunger, sickness, marginalisation. A small minority maintains large profits and accumulates wealth based on the misery and poverty of the majority. In this situation the church becomes a space where the poor have liberty and the possibility of organising themselves to change the situation.'

During the most rigorous period of military rule the church provided the only space available to the poor to discuss and make their voice heard. When a trade union organisation was severely restricted the churches

were opened to be used for union meetings. Many of the basic Christian communities have become active in community organisation. The roots of this involvement lie in their reading of the Bible.

James Pitt, who wrote a report on a visit to Brazil sat in on a group of mothers in Sao Paulo discussing why Jesus was born poor and humble and shapes our life. At last one of them said 'I think that God chose his son to be born like us so that we can realise we are important. It is not just to show the bosses. It's to show us too!' The women, fired by a sudden realisation of their own worth, of their identification with Jesus Christ, went on to discuss what they should do about the problems they faced, high food prices, overcharging in certain shops and how they would organise a boycott of these shops. 'Suddenly I saw what it means to say that the Gospel has the power to set people free, that the Good News to the poor is a message of liberation', commented James Pitt.

The Church seeks to encourage the basic communities to relate their lively experience of involvement in local action, to broader issues. This is not an easy step to take for people who have been ground down and humiliated by poverty. The slide set is a tool to help people looking at the deeper causes of the violence and fear that are part of their daily lives. This is an approach that has important lessons for peace-makers elsewhere. It builds on people's own experience and uses this to show that Brazil is already in a situation of social and economic violence. This violence needs to be recognised and confronted by people working together to face up to injustice. More violence is not the answer. As Cardinal Arns says 'We have always been against violence because, inevitably, it leads to more violence.'

Richard Bainbridge

5. CASE STUDY
SEEDS OF RECONCILIATION

No discussion of Christian peacemaking could be complete without mention of Ireland. The following article by Lord Hylton of Ammerdown gives an overview of peacemaking initiatives taking place in Ireland and shows a side of the life of the communities there rarely revealed by the media.

Peacemaking in Ireland

A visit to the National Museum next to the Parliament Building in Dublin gives proof that Ireland was a highly civilized place long before the Christian era. Irish culture continued to flourish and develop with the coming of Christianity. From the time of the Danish and Norse invasions, Ireland has suffered periodic and semi-permanent interference in her internal affairs. Before the Reformation the new-comers and settlers were assimilable, with the help of the undivided Western Church. After the Reformation they became sharply differentiated. Today, we are faced with a clash of cultures in N. Ireland, made more intractable because culture has become tightly interwoven with opposing political and religious traditions. A burden of inherited responsibility rests on us in Britain, because in the past our politicians and governments abused religion and theology for political ends and followed a policy of divide and rule in Ireland.

Nineteenth and twentieth century reform led to an eventual settlement of the Irish Question, in so far as it affected the twenty-six counties of the South. In the six counties of the North injustices continued. The 1960's saw the growth of the civil rights movement. Grievances could not be satisfied quickly and violence erupted. The British Army intervened and this has been followed by eleven years of Direct Rule, a period marred by terrorism and severe economic problems.

Violence and intimidation has led to homelessness and some emigration. In cities formerly mixed-areas tended to become either Protestant or Catholic. Since 1972 local democracy has been in cold storage. The police were first disarmed then re-armed. Internment of terrorist suspects were tried and rejected, but prisoners are still an important and emotional issue. Emergency laws suspended trial by jury for certain offences. The interrogation of suspects assumed critical importance because of the lack of outside witnesses and recently the use

of well-rewarded informers has been much criticized. For the ordinary citizen, who probably had a relative or friend injured or killed through the troubles, life is inconvenienced by searches, road blocks and security gates.

Reconciliation communities

In 1982 deaths from violence were a little over 20% of what they had been in 1972 and less than the fatalities on the roads. Such is the background to a situation where the media have kept Britain well-informed about the bad news but largely ignorant of the normal daily life in N. Ireland, and in the dark about the peace making work that has been done since 1969.

The Corrymeela Community is reasonably well known in Britain. It began in 1966, inspried by the Iona Community, Taize in France and Agape in Italy. Today it has a reputation for dynamic youth work with mixed groups from across the traditional divides. It has initiated many new ventures, such as the Northern Ireland Mixed Marriages Association, has held many major political conferences and works with the victims of violence. There is also the Glencree community near Dublin, and a southern Corrymeela which maintains a small house in Belfast.

Peace making at school

The great majority of Northern Irish schools are denominationally segregated. A group of parents formed 'All Children Together', a movement to campaign for shared and integrated Christian schools. This group led to the formation of Lagan College, a mixed post primary school situated in South East Belfast. It teaches both British and Irish history and culture and takes an equal mix of Catholic and Protestant children. After two years as an independent school the College expects soon to be accepted into the State system as an integrated secondary school. In the state sector, co-operation between schools across sectarian boundaries is increasing and tertiary education in particular has always been provided on an integrated basis.

In Christian and theological adult education, the Irish School of Ecumenics is by now well established. Two Catholic monasteries, Benburb in County Tyrone and Clonard in Belfast offer courses and the latter has pioneered mixed Protestant and Catholic Bible study groups. P.A.C.E. (Protestant and Catholic Encounter) runs a magazine and holds meetings and other activities.

Mutual Aid

The troubles have generated a vast amount of voluntary and community based social and welfare effort. Community and Housing Associations work throughout the province. Shelter (Northern Ireland) is

a vigorous group campaigning for better housing so badly needed in spite of the efforts since 1970 of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

Cross-community work has achieved a hospice for the dying in Belfast and numerous projects for the handicapped. There is a Cross Group for those bereaved by violence which has provided mutual support and new life to a good number of shattered people.

Youth

Much youth work aims at preventing the development of prejudices so prominent in the adult community. Mixed holidays for Protestant and Catholic children have been provided each year with some Government financial help. One much used permanent holiday centre is Glebe House on Strangford Loch sponsored by Rotary. In the inner city Save the Children Fund has organised successful play-groups and clubs sometimes right on the so-called Peace Line. The Crescent Youth Centre near the Univeristy has provided a central meeting point on neutral ground for youth groups from all over Belfast.

Prisoners

The area of prisons and prisoners is a particularly sensitive one in view of terrorism, internment, dirty protests and hunger-strikes. It too has called forth valiant peace making ventures. The Quakers, for example serve refreshments to prisoners' families at the main gate of Maze Prison, and the Peace People's mini-bus transports relatives on prison visits so that they need not be dependent on transport arranged by the welfare sections of paramilitary organisations.

There is a Prison Christian Fellowship working throughout Northern Ireland and some remarkable conversions have occurred in prison. I have personally seen two ex-paramilitaries from opposite sides embrace one another in forgiveness at a large public meeting. More specialised groups such as Columba House, Derry, and Dismas House, Belfast, give counselling, care and rehabilitation to discharged or pre-release prisoners.

Peace Groups

The Community of the Peace People is the best known group through the media and the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. It was formed after the tragic and accidental running over of a small boy and for some time gave expression to the deeply felt desire for peace. It organised large marches, picketed, leafleted and donated grants to worthwhile projects. It now continues as one of many small peace groups, for instance Peace-Point, Peace Forum and others. They have found gaps in the system which they can usefully fill, but it seems they have no overall remedy for the deep seated fears and prejudices that prevent political solutions.

The Christian Churches

The leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, Church of Ireland and the historic Free Churches have a genuine desire to co-operate with each other. The difficulty lies in translating friendliness and goodwill into effective practical action. The official Catholic approach has consistently shied away from anything involving an institutional sacrifice, for instance over schools, mixed marriages, inter communion etc. Equally the Free Churches have been reluctant to modernise their church government, so that leaders might remain in office long enough to deal with complex and long lasting issues. The Free Presbyterian Church is a law unto itself and there is an ambivalent relationship between the Protestant Churches generally and the Orange Order. To quote Gallagher and Worrall (Christians in Ulster 1968-1980, OUP 1982): 'It is in the translation of this general will towards reconciliation into practical steps that would be socially and politically effective, that the Churches have so far failed.'

More hopeful are the Christian households which have come together from across the boundaries. The Rostrevor Christian Renewal Centre dates from 1974. It provides a place for meetings, conferences and retreats and in addition a visiting ministry to individual local Churches. A number of local ecumenical prayer groups have sprung from it. There are communities such as Cornerstone which lives and works on the Shankhill and Falls Road interface.

Background to this article

I have tried to provide a survey of attempts to create the condition of peace and foster right relationships in Northern Ireland. The work of peace making initiatives in the province is too little known in Britain and I feel it is an obligation to encourage their recognition and wide reporting. I have touched briefly on the great deep seated fears of Ireland, the fears of the protestant minority of the whole of Ireland (25%) and the fears of the catholic minority in Northern Ireland (35 to 40%). No efforts should be spared to reduce and if possible eliminate these fears which are perhaps the greatest obstacle to peace.

Faced with such intractable problems what can an individual do? The first thing is to make common cause with other peacemakers. This provides the background and information for action at the level of Parliament and Government. Christians can try to work through their churches, as a Catholic for example I can try to urge my church to be constructive on both sides of the channel. Finally making common cause means offering hospitality and friendship, if possible even to those who may appear hostile.

For the future one thing seems clear. No one has the wisdom, power or authority necessary for devising a solution and making it work in practice. In spite of Joint Studies, Summit meetings etc. the British and Irish Governments seem unable to find a formula satisfactory to all.

Meanwhile Direct Rule continues as the second best choice for most people in Northern Ireland and those who reject it totally go on murdering. The local political parties remain poles apart and the two who represent the Nationalist element, refuse to sit either in the Assembly or the House of Commons. The Churches, local community leaders and peace makers are equally unable to produce a workable concensus. The economy continues to grind on at a low level and unemployment creeps ever higher. Northern Irish society is only held together at the cost of vast expenditure on security and generous subsidies of every known kind from the British Treasury.

It is surely time that all parties recognised their powerlessness. This recognition could lead the way to an acceptance that we have all gone wrong, that we have all been party to sins and injustices, both in our own time and by inheritance from those who went before us. After all, the Germans and French admitted that their murderous wars devastated Europe three times in seventy years. They then set out to build a new Europe on co-operation rather than competition. Britain and Ireland need to repent of their internecine conflicts and their support for opposing factions in Northern Ireland. Repentance (whether expressed in theological or secular terms) is the necessary prelude to genuine mutual forgiveness, on which alone can lasting peace be built.

Raymond Hylton

6. REFLECTIONS — TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF PEACEMAKING

David Gosling

Policies for both nuclear deterrence and disarmament — whether multilateral or unilateral — all omit a major Christian imperative. The need to work and pray at every level for the reduction and eventual removal of the barriers which divide people and nations.

Such 'peacemaking' arises from the basic affirmation: 'Our Father'. A common Father and a shared worldwide human family necessitate a commitment to end divisions between different races, rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, Russian and American. Hope commits us to believe that such peace is possible. After all, were not France and Germany a few decades ago the bitterest of enemies? And were not the Communist Chinese even more recently supposed to be as dangerous as the Ayatollah and the P.L.O.? Perhaps the most serious and intractable aspects of international strife have never been as much the political factors as what US diplomat George Kennan once described as the 'dehumanisation of any major national opponent'.

Peacemaking and the affirmation: 'Our Father' do not in themselves prescribe any one particular political programme. But they seriously challenge others, as, for example, the national aspirations of Nazi Germany. And genuine peacemaking inevitably produces the controversy and personal cost which have been part of authentic Christianity ever since its inception. Five years ago the Lambeth Bishops of the Anglican Communion declared:

> We call Christian people everywhere . . . to engage themselves in non-violent action for justice and peace and to support others so engaged, recognising that such action will be controversial and may be personally very costly.

But to whom are such sentiments addressed? Does a 'Theology of Peacemaking' relate only to people who belong, however tenuously, to a Church or Christian group, or should it be related to a wider fellowship?

1. Christian Universalism

Few things irritate many non-Christians more than to be told that they are 'hidden Christians', 'fellow-travellers', or some such phrase. Even 'non-Christian' is pejorative, and no more justifiable than, say, non-Hindu or non-Muslim.

The issue is important, partly because Christian/non-Christian, however polite the jargon, may raise barriers between people otherwise united in a common cause, and partly because the use of the term

'Christian' begs so many questions. How can Britain be so 'Christian' and Russia 'Communist' when, as a matter purely of statistical fact, a greater percentage of people go to Church in the USSR than in the UK? Does 'Christian' CND exist primarily to lobby Church members, or does it have a distinctive brief within the wider CND umbrella? Does it (horror of horrors!) possess a hidden agenda designed to win converts?

To be fair, many Christians (i.e. people who profess Christianity) find themselves in a Catch 22 situation. If they foist their religious opinions on other people, they are arrogant. If they declare that every 'peacemaker', knowingly or unknowingly, is doing God's will, they are condescending. And if they say nothing and simply get on with the job, some people still wonder what they're up to. And is not a Christian who says nothing about his or her beliefs even when pressed guilty of a different kind of arrogance: 'I don't respect the seriousness of your questions enough to explain what being a Christian is all about'?

'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called Children of God.' No qualifications. No strings. This Beatitude, like the others, is unconditional. In its original context it means that a peacemaker — one who creates *Shalom,* which in the early Gospels should be understood in its most starkly Jewish corporate sense — is a child of God. A Pharisee, Sadducee, Jew, Roman, Greek — the term Christian came later — who works and prays for peace is a child of God. What greater approbation could anyone desire?

The Bible is not the only source of Christian inspiration, and it is not primarily concerned about the precise status of people who do not belong to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. But is it worth noting, in passing, that the Persian Emperor, Cyrus, described in Isaiah 45 as God's anointed (or Messiah), was in all probability a Zoroastrian. Nowhere in all Israel did Christ find more faith than in a Roman centurion (Luke 7, 9). And even St. Paul, for all his broadsides against Jewish and Gentile adversaries, was surprisingly appreciative of the 'Unknown God' of the Athenians (Acts 17, 22ff).

There are other biblical examples of 'Christian universalism' plus, of course, the ongoing testimony of Christians who know from personal experience that the bonds which unite them with fellow workers in a common cause are often at least as strong as those between members of the same church. Tragically, many churches stifle and reject the most creative intitiatives of their members.

2. Theology in the Making

When hundreds of bishops, clergy and active church members of all denominations risk arrest by organising a Pentecost march through the Upper Heyford nuclear base, they are 'making theology'. They are making theology in the sense that their motivation and commitment, their individual and collective experiences, and the consequences of their

actions, both for themselves and for the general public, are part of an ongoing Christian tradition.

Some — certainly not this writer — will argue that such protests are misconceived. What cannot be denied is that authentic Christianity always confronts people with visions and awakens them to new and expanding horizons of responsibility. In the words of Karl Barth:

> A reality is conceived and presented in such a way that is does not affect or claim men or awaken them to responsibility or redeem them, i.e. a theoretical reality, cannot possibly be the reality of the Word of God, no matter how great may be the richness of its content or the profundity of its conception.

There are many reasons why much theology is sterile. Among them, the 'Constantinian trap', whereby the aims of Christianity become identified with the political aspirations of a nation or group of nations, remains popular. More philosophically, Kant's view that man is a rational and spiritual being whose duty is to subdue nature has systematically undermined the need for moral limits to the use of science and technology.[1]

There is little point in historical recrimination. What is more important is to understand the early message of Christianity in its social and historical context, and to bring it to bear on current issues. As has already been indicated, the two most relevant themes for our study are peace and the implications of the fatherhood of God.

3. Creating Peace

The beatitude 'Blessed are the Peacemakers' appears in one of the earliest and most Jewish Gospels. The correct meaning is therefore to be found in the Hebrew word *Shalom* as used, for example, in the Old Testament.

The Semitic root of *Shalom* has various connotations, all pointing in the same direction. Peace means 'being undamaged', 'remaining healthy'! How is this achieved? The Hebrew dictionary explains that TO MAKE PEACE is 'to surrender by agreeing in a peaceful way', by 'consenting to a peaceful relationship' ('peaceful' is being used here in its colloquial English sense). 'To greet somebody in *Shalom* "means" to wish him/her safety from danger' and 'to sheath one's sword'.

Through the various tenses of the Hebrew verb TO MAKE PEACE we find the following meanings: to repair, heal, save, to act gratefully, to achieve the goal of keeping *Shalom* with somebody.

Shalom is dynamic. It expresses action, the initiation of a process. Peace in Hebrew thought is never a static individual state of calm and quietness. In the New Testament St. Paul translates 'peace' as 'ministry of reconciliation'. We shall see presently how St. John uses the term, and how we may legitimately apply it to contemporary situations.

It is very striking that such a powerfully ethical beatitude should appear so prominently as early as St. Matthew's Gospel. It is clear from St. Mark's Gospel, probably written even earlier and strongly influenced by St. Peter, that Jesus' immediate followers expected a Second Coming within their own lifetimes (Mark 13, 24ff). Their main concern in preaching and writing was therefore to prepare for the rapidly approaching Kingdom. In such a perceived situation 'peacemaking' would have no obvious strategic significance for the early Evangelists. We may therefore conclude that Jesus himself gave considerable prominence to it.

As time went by and the early Church realised that the Second Coming was not imminent, concern for the secular world became even more important. St. Luke's Gospel and his Acts of the Apostles reflect this trend particularly strongly, as do many other New Testament passages (e.g. Colossians 3, 18-4, 1; Ephesians 5, 21-6, 9; the Epistle of St. James).

Both Old and New Testaments stress mankind's God-given responsibilities towards the whole creation. Understanding and respecting the given order of creation and living in harmony with it is 'wisdom' — a powerful Judaeo-Greek concept with almost personal attributes (cf 'Word'). Much of Jesus' teaching is influenced by this tradition, which in turn is used by New Testament writers to interpret him as the point of contact between the mind of God and humankind.

The latter parts of the New Testament represent Christ as one who faces us with a life lived according to the mind (Wisdom) of God, taking both humanity *and the created universe* with the utmost seriousness. Thus the patterns and limits of the created order impose limits on moral behaviour.[2] In other words, to anticipate later discussion, if we use our power and knowledge indiscriminately, we run the very real risk of bringing about our own destruction. And such a course of events, far from representing an Apocalypse which certain fringe Christian groups see as the fulfilment of biblical prophecy, is the very opposite of the secular thrust of Christ's teaching and the mature reflection of the writers of the New Testament.

4. Bridging Barriers

By a process of 'selective inattention' it is possible to produce scriptural texts to support almost any preconceived belief. Thus 'turning the other cheek' means refusing to use physical violence whatever the provocation, while the overturning of the money changers' tables in the Temple justifies pre-emptive aggression. The question: 'Would Christ have pushed the button which launches Cruise/Trident or the MX?'is salutary, but it presupposes black and white alternatives which ignore a wide spectrum of political shades of grey. Clearly Christ would not have pressed the nuclear button; neither would he have tolerated — in so far as

it lay within his influence — the inexorable growth of the social, political and economic barriers which divide our world.

Christ, insists St. John, was fully human, the 'Word made flesh' (John 1, 14). He was one who 'learned obedience through what he suffered' — adds the writer to the Hebrews (Hebrews 5, 8). Re-reading one or more of the Gospels in the light of such themes does much to counteract naïve Sunday School portrayals of a stained-glass demi-god whose feet never really touched the ground.

As long as Christ's human ministry continued, his style of leadership was bound to limit the maturity and spiritual growth of his disciples. His teaching, though often couched in striking metaphors, was essentially a one-way affair. He made virtually all the major decisions, and on the few occasions when he left the disciples alone, they got into a mess. Judas betrayed him, Peter denied him, James and John quarrelled about status, and ultimately only a handful of women remained faithful.

Pentecost heralded a new kind of relationship. Instead of leading from in front Jesus now stood alongside his followers in an intimate relationship which bound them more closely both to himself and to one another. Instead of 'Follow me', the Pentecostal exhortation became 'Go on, I'm with you!'

The transformation of the Early Church stemmed from the new relationship between Christ, now present as the Holy Spirit, and his followers. They received no detailed itinararies and no blueprint of how to proceed. All they had were recollections of past teaching, a fellowship meal which evoked rich memories of their final hours before the Crucifixion, and a new and more creative relationship with their Lord as Spirit. They pooled their material resources (Acts 2, 44), and began to recognise in one another a range of latent gifts and abilities. Old rivalries crumbled and outsiders began to say of them: 'See how they love one another'.

More barriers collapsed following St. Peter's recognition at Caesarea that the 'good news of peace' is for all mankind:

> Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him. You know the word which he sent to Israel, preaching good news of *Shalom* by Jesus Christ . . . (Acts 10,34).

A chapter later, the disciples at Antioch, hearing of imminent famine, 'determined, everyone according to his ability, to send relief to the brethren who lived in Judea' (Acts 11, 29). Material generosity bridged a different kind of barrier; significantly, it was at Antioch that they were first known as 'Christians'.

5. Peace and Reconciliation

The Church of England's highly competent and much debated report *The Church and the Bomb* confidently asserts:

> Both central Biblical doctrines and the Church's developing understanding of Christ's message call Christians to an active moral concern for their fellow men and women and for events in the world. The Christian faith, in this sense, flows immediately into ethics.[3]

If this is so, then we might expect St. John's Gospel, composed some years after the others, to reflect the Early Church's deepening convictions about its moral responsibilities.

As has already been indicated, St. John's Gospel begins by emphasising the complete and utter humanity of Christ, the Word made flesh. This world and human life, St. John tells us, is to be the arena of a struggle between light and darkness: 'The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world' (John 1, 9). But although the world possesses the capacity to recognise truth and goodness, it has predominantly chosen not to do so. 'If the world hates you, know that it hated me first' (John 15, 18); 'I do not pray that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one' (John 17, 15).

St. John is not so naïve as to think that people are just sitting around waiting for someone to tell them that Jesus died for their sins. He understands better than any other Evangelist how Jesus progressively revealed himself in the expectation that he would be rejected. While festive crowds greeted him with branches of palm trees, the powers of institutional darkness bided their time in Jerusalem, confident in their ultimate ability to manipulate and compromise:

> Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? 'Father save me from this hour'? No, for this purpose I have come to this hour . . . the light is with you a little longer. Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness overtakes you. (John 12, 27ff).

By St. John's time the Church was as incarnate in the struggles and antagonisms of the world as Christ had been. He prays, with Christ, 'that all may be one', knowing that the survival of a persecuted minority depends on its inner cohesion and solidarity, which in turn depend on mutual love and self-respect: 'I made known to them thy name, and I will make it known, that the love with which thou has loved me may be in them, and I in them' (John 17, 26).

St. John's willingness to attribute divinity to Christ probably reflects the continuing divergence between emergent Christianity and Judaism. St. Thomas' Post-Resurrection 'My Lord and My God' (John 20, 28) is a strikingly dramatic climax to a Gospel which begins by 'earthing' Jesus so securely to our human existence. Equally dramatic is the final Johannine charge to the disciples:

> Jesus said to them again, 'Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, even so I send you.' And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the holy Spirit.' (John 20, 21).

St. John evokes the Genesis imagery of the breath of God 'moving over

the face of the waters' to signify that a New Creation has begun. Its originator is the Father of our shared human family. Its 'life-force' is the spirit of Christ who stimulates and enables his followers, and its hallmark is Peace.

Thus 'Peace' is a major feature of the continuing ministry of reconciliation and healing begun by Christ: 'Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, even so I send you.'

6. The Churches and Nuclear Arms

The purpose of the previous sections has been to demonstrate the centrality of peace, reconciliation and the fatherhood of God in the life and teaching of Christ and his followers, and to show how their theology developed out of concrete social and political situations. In this section mention will be made of some characteristic attitudes to nuclear weapons, and in the final section an 'iterative' style of theology will be proposed.

In 1946 a Commission set up by the Church of England to study the moral and theological implications of nuclear war pronounced as follows:

> On the assumption that today the possession of atomic weapons is generally necessary for national self-preservation, a government, which is responsible for the safety of the community committed to its charge, is entitled to manufacture them and hold them in readiness.[4]

The 'magisterial' tone reflects the membership of the Commission: out of sixteen members, there were five Deans or Provosts of Cathedrals, three Theological College and public School Principals, two Professors and a Rear Admiral. Only one of the laymen was a scientist, and there were no women! The report contained copious references to Plato, Thucydides and Hooker, and a profusion of untranslated Latin references. The Commission's brief was to consider a much less assertive report by another Commission appointed by the British Council of Churches.[5] Four years after the Church of England's report was published Britain carried out a series of test explosions at the Monte Verde Islands off the west coast of Australia and became the third member of the world's 'nuclear club'.

Another early pronouncement about nuclear weapons came from the Russian Orthodox Church. According to Metropolitan Nikolai, 'The existence of nuclear weapons is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel'.[6]

In 1963 Pope John XXIII declared in an Encyclical Letter: 'Justice, then, might reason and humanity urgently demand the arms race should cease . . . that nuclear weapons should be banned.'[7]

The World Council of Churches was even more insistent in its opposition to nuclear weapons:

> Of all forms of uses, nuclear war presents the gravest affront to the conscience of man . . . The Churches must insist that it is the first duty of

government to prevent such a war: to halt the present arms race, agree never to initiate the use of nuclear weapons.[8]

All these statements and many more are essentially 'magisterial', that is, they assume the divine right of their authors to pronounce on moral issues. Perhaps they are entitled to do so; the problem is that nowadays for every official church pronouncement banning the Bomb, there is at least one other declaring that we must keep it. No wonder many Christians end up by being confused, and the churches as a whole lose credibility.

7. 'Iterative' Theology

Ethical choices depend in part on technical possibilities, and hence cannot be resolved by theologians or churchmen working in isolation from those with technical knowledge. 'Iterative' theology — the term was coined by the British Council of Churches' representatives at the Windscale Inquiry — means that existing moral and theological insights and the perception of contemporary concrete issues illuminate and deepen one another.

To give an example. It is often asserted that Cruise, Pershing, Trident and other recent developments in nuclear arms represent a 'first strike' capability. Whether or not this is true, whether or not Russia or America possesses more or less weapons than each other, whether 16 million or 39 million Britons are likely to die in the event of a Soviet attack, are not matters theologians can resolve.

But once it has been established beyond reasonable doubt that Cruise, Pershing, etc., are first strike weapons, then the Christian theological consensus must be that they can never be thus used. In the words of a recent UN General Assembly resolution, there can 'never be any justification or pardon' for statesmen who commit 'the gravest crime against humanity' by resorting to the first use of nuclear weapons.'[9]

> Where can we hope that the Churches will give leadership? Most obviously on questions of faith and ethics, not of scientific information. But the churches must engage the world of science and technology — or they will never get to the point of hard, concrete decisions. [10]

Iterative theology begins neither with doctrinal considerations (the 'magisterial' and 'fundamentalist' approaches), not with the current empirical situation, but with both at once. They interact upon one another, allowing theology to analyse the data of this world and our reponsibilities in it, and the scientific and technological data to call in question theological irrelevancies.

This kind of exploratory approach is unsatisfactory and even offensive to those who like authoritative statements by Church dignitaries or from the Bible. But as has been suggested in earlier sections, it is much more consistent with the ethos and direction of early Christianity, and is much more likely to be taken seriously by the secular world — though whether

as a major contribution to peace or as a serious threat to stability, remains to be seen!

There are several published examples of the kind of theological approach being advocated. Reference has already been made to the Church of England's Report *The Church and the Bomb.*[11] Equally commendable is the World Council of Churches' Report of a Public Hearing on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament *Before It's Too Late.*[12]

8. 'Doing the Truth'

On Good Friday a year ago an elderly lady general practitioner performed a thirteenth and final Station of the Cross at the Pearl Harbour Nuclear Weapons Storage Facility in Hawaii. Together with two Catholic priests and a young electrician she climbed over the barbed wire fencing and began walking to where the bombs were stored in order to pray there. Outside the Base a group of about fifty people from different churches and denominations waited quietly to see what would happen.

The lady was Dr. Kit Glover, and she currently stands where many people find themselves in relation to nuclear weapons. She did not go to the act of witness with the intention of climbing the fencing but rather to pray for peace, hopefully together with some Navy personnel from inside the Base, and to express her concern at the appalling waste of money involved in the manufacture of nuclear arms. Her rather obscure religious beliefs — which on her own admission had scarcely changed since Sunday School — had begun to rouse themselves at the news that the US Navy had decided to call one of its nuclear submarines Corpus Christi. Her daily routine of caring for the health of the Island's poorest children was becoming less and less effective as Reagonomics took its relentless toll of successive welfare programmes.

And then there were the prayers and readings from the gospels as the motley assortment of worshippers moved stage by stage, a hundred yards at a time, from the entrance along the outer perimeter of the wire fence towards the bunkers where the bombs were stored. The West Loch Base is believed to be the second largest nuclear storage facility in the US.

At periodic intervals during the vigil there were abusive catcalls from Navy personnel coming in or out of the Base. But not all the military were hostile or unsympathetic — on Easter Sunday at the Cathedral a Colonel expressed concern at the lack of discussion of the nuclear issue permitted at the Base. Apparently the higher levels of the Navy regarded virtually any political opinions as tantamount to disloyalty.

Shortly before three o'clock the twelve scheduled stations had been completed, and Jim Albertini, one of the Catholic priests, took over the microphone. His logic was precise. This was Good Friday and we were at the place of evil in solidarity with Jesus. The cross represents the evil that is in the world and that, today, means the curse of nuclear

weapons — our sins and those of the rest of the world. The weapons both represent and are evil, and we must pray where they are. The barriers that men erect around them have no reality and we are entitled to disregard them. For Jim, Wally (the other priest), and David (the electrician) this meant that they were going over the fence.

The mats people were sitting on were thrown over the barbed wire, and Jim and Wally produced a rope ladder which they hooked on to the top. The three of them were quickly over, followed, after a moment's hesitation, by Kit Glover. The four walked slowly past a 'no entry' sign inside the Base towards the bomb storage silos.

Suddenly two large military vehicles appeared and deposited more than a dozen armed Marines in full battle-dress. Jim, Wally and David were handcuffed and dragged away.

From the expression on the faces of the Marines it was clear that they did not know how to handle Kit Glover. Trained to intercept desperate terrorists, they were physically and psychologically ill-equipped to deal with this elderly spinster in dowdy clothes. When, eventually, two of them accosted her she explained that she wanted to pray where the bombs were. She was handcuffed and roughly bundled into a car.

A gloomy silence fell on the rest of us outside the fence. Then three police cars arrived and ordered us to go home.

To use a phrase coined by St. John, Kit Glover was 'doing the truth' — as she saw it. She was responding to the claims and responsibilities of a reality of the kind envisaged by Karl Barth. As Jesus set his face to go to Jerusalem, so Kit Glover and her friends confronted what former Methodist President Kenneth Greet has described as 'the most monstrous evil the world has ever known.'

Nuclear weapons are not weapons. In the words of George Kennan, one of America's most distinguished ambassadors to Moscow:

> I question whether these devices are really weapons at all. A true weapon is at best something with which you endeavour to affect the behaviour of another society by influencing the minds, the calculations, the intentions of the men who control it; it is not something with which you destroy indiscriminately the lives, the substance, the hopes, the culture, the civilisation, of another people . . . To my mind, the nuclear bomb is the most useless weapon ever invented.

What use is a sub-machine gun to a schoolteacher confronted with an unruly class of children? Or, even, to carry the 'no winners in a nuclear war' argument a bit further, how might such a weapon conceivably be used if, for every shot fired at the children, the next bullet backfired into the teacher's chest?

'Are the children to receive the arms race from us as a necessary inheritance?' asked Pope John Paul II three years ago. How are we to explain this unbridled race? The ancients said, "If you want peace, prepare for war." But can our age still really believe that the breathtaking

spiral of armaments is at the service of world peace?'

One million Hiroshimas are contained in sixty thousand nuclear weapons deployed by East and West. A formula for peace, *Shalom*?

And yet nuclear weapons, though monstrously evil, are symptomatic of the divisions of extermination. The Christian response must probe beneath the effects of these divisions to their root causes; to bring peace, reconciliation, and the knowledge of a shared humanity under a common Father to bear on every barrier at every level.

In the moving words of Archbishop Hunthausen:

> I say with deep sorrow that our nuclear war preparations are the global crucifixion of Jesus. What we do to the least of these, through our nuclear weapons planning, we do to Jesus. That is His teaching. We cannot avoid it and we should not try. Our nuclear weapons are the final crucifixion of Jesus, in the extermination of the human family, with whom He is one.

References and Notes

(1) For further exposition of this theme see David Gosling, 'The Morality of Nuclear Power' in *Theology,* Vol.LXXXI, No.679, January 1978. P.26ff.

(2) Biblical 'triumphalism' over nature has tended to be justified with reference to attempts to interpret or misinterpret Genesis 1.28. There are, however, other places in the Bible where the distinctions between God, man, and the rest of creation are much less sharp. Thus in Romans 8 the universe groans as it waits for its release after man's own adoption. But in 2 Corinthians 5.4, it is man who groans in relation to God. But man, though subordinate, is never merely God's instrument; partnership is frequently alluded to — and similarly, presumably, with nature in relation to man.

(3) *The Church and the Bomb,* Church of England Board for Social Responsibility, Hodder and Stoughton, 1982, p.108.

(4) *The Church and the Atom: a Study of the Moral and Theological Aspects of Peace and War,* Church House, London, 1948.

(5) *The Era of Atomic Power.* British Council of Churches, SCM, 1946.

(6) Quoted in E.N. Heibert, *The Impact of Atomic Energy: A History of Responses by Governments, Scientists and Religious Groups,* Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas, 1961, p.251.

(7) *Pacem in Terris: On establishing universal peace in truth, justice, charity and liberty.* Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963.

(8) *The Uppsala Report,* World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1968.

(9) General Assembly Resolution 36/100; 9 December 1981. It was passed by eighty-two votes to nineteen with forty-one abstentions.

(10) Roger L. Shinn, "Faith, Theology and Science in Ethical Decision — Theological Reflections on the Nuclear Debate", *Second W.C.C. Consultation on Ecumenical Concerns in Relation to Nuclear Energy,* 1978.

(11) *Op. Cit.* (3).

(12) *Before It's Too Late,* Report of a Public Hearing on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament, World Council Of Churches, May 1982.

7. RESOURCES

A. Groups and Organisations

Amnesty International, 5-8 Roberts Place, off Bowling Green Lane, London EC4 (01-251 8371).

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, St. Mary's Church House, Bayswater Road, Headington, Oxford OX3 9EY (0865 61886).

Anti Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ (01-580 5311).

Anti-Nuclear Campaign, POB 216, Sheffield S11BD (0742 754691).

Baptist Peace Fellowship, 38 Lyttleton Road, Droitwich, Worcs. R9 7AB (0905 773385).

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET (0602 784504).

British Council of Churches, 2 Eaton Gate, London, SW1.

Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX (01-278 1976).

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ (01-263 0977).

Christian CND — at CND's address.

Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), 2 Gordon Close, Stockwell Road, London SW9.

Catholic Institute for Intrnational Relations (CIIR), 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 (01-345 0833).

Catholic Peace Action, 7 Putney Bridge Road, London SW18 (01-785 6107).

Centre for International Reconciliation, The Cathedral, 7 Priory Row, Coventry CV1 5ES.

Christian Action, 43 Holywell Hill, St. Albans, Herts AL1 1HE.

Christians Against Racism and Fascism, 1 Finch Road, Birmingham B19 1HS.

Christian Aid, PO Box 1, London SW9 8BH.

Christian Movement for Peace, Stowford House, Bayswater Road, Oxford OX3 9SA (0865 62866).

Clergy Against Nuclear Arms (CANA), 38 Main Road, Norton, Evesham, Worcs. WR11 4TL (0386 870918).

Commission for International Justice & Peace, 38-40 Eccleston Square, London SW1V 1PD.

Corymeela Community, 8 Upper Crescent, Belfast 7.

Corymeela Link, PO Box 118, Reading, Berks.

Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament, 2 Eaton Gate, London SW1 9BA (01 730 8433).

Dunamis, St. James Church, 197 Piccadilly, London W1V 9LF (01-437 6851).

Ecoropa, Crickhowell, Powys NP8 1TA (0873 810758).

European Nuclear Disarmament (END), 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (Also END — Churches Lateral Committee).

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 9 Coombe Road, New Malden, Surrey KT3 4QA (01-942 6521).

Friends of the Earth, 377 City Road, London EC1V 1NA (01-837 0731).

JONAH (Jews Organised for a Nuclear Arms Halt), 21 St. Edmunds Walk, N2, and 14 North Park Grove, Leeds 8.

Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination (JANE), c/o Magazine Branch, NUJ, 314 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

Lawyers Against the Bomb, Owen Davies, 2 Garden Court, Middle Temple, London EC4 (01-354 1633).

Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, 5/15 Tennison Road, Cambridge (0223 313828).

Mennonite Centre, 14 Shepherds Hill, London N6 5AQ (01-340 8775).

National Peace Council, 29 Great James Street, London, WC1N 3ES (01 242 3228).

Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ (0865-56777).

Pax Christi, St. Francis of Assisi Centre, Pottery Lane, London W11 4NQ (01-727 4609).

Peace Advertising Campaign, PO Box 24, Oxford OX1 3JZ.

Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DX (01-387 5501).

Peace Tax Campaign, 26 Thurlow Road, Leicester LE2 1YE (0533 702687).

Post Green Community, 57 Dorchester Road, Lychett Minster, Poole, Dorset.

Prayer for Peace, Seniors Farmhouse, Semley, Shaftesbury, Dorset SP7 9AX (0747 3961).

Quaker Peace and Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ (01-387 3601).

Scientists Against Nuclear Arms (SANA), c/o Christopher Meredith, 8 Medland, Wroughton Park, Milton Keynes MK6 3BH (0908 674763).

Teachers for Peace, 42 York Rise, London N5 1SB (01-485 1670).

Third World First, 232 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1UH (0865 45678).

Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, 112 Brincliffe Edge Road, Sheffield S11 9BX (0742 53084).

United Nations Association, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL (01-930 2931).

War on Want, 467 Caledonian Road, London, N7 9BE (01-609 0211).

Women Oppose the Nuclear Threat (WONT), 8 Elm Avenue,

Nottingham 3 (0602 53587).

World Development Movement, Bedford Chambers, London WC2 (01-836 3672).

World Disarmament Campaign, 238 Camden Road, London, NW1 (01-484 1067).

B. Study Centres and Educational (a selection only)

Armament and Disarmament Information Unit (ADIU), Mantell Buildings, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RF (0273 686758)

Ammerdown Study Centre, Radstock, Bath, BA3 5SW (I)

Atlantic College Peace Studies Project, St. Donats Castle, Llantwit Major, S. Glam (PE)

Bradford School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford, W.Yorks (PE, N)

Centre for Peace Studies, St. Martin's College, Lancaster LA1 3JD (PE)

Centre for World Development Education, 128 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1 (01-730 8332) (WD)

Christian Peace Education, c/o Pax Christi, St. Francis of Assisi Centre, Pottery Lane, London W11 (PE)

Corrymeela Community, 8 Upper Crescent, Belfast BT7 1NT (PE, I)

Fircroft College, 1018 Bristol Road, Birmingham 29 (021-427 0116) (PE)

Iona Community, Candlemakers Hall, 36 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh EH1 2QF (031-225 1135) (PE)

Irish School of Ecumenics, Bea House, 20 Pembroke Park, Dublin 4 (PE, I)

National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks, Westhill College, Selly Oak, Birmingham B29 6LL (021-472 8079) (PE, I)

Quaker Peace Action Caravan, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ (N)

Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research, Dept. of Politics, University of Lancaster, Fylde College, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YF (N)

Development Education Centre, Selly Oak Colleges, Selly Oak, Birmingham B29 (WD)

Urban Theology Unit, 210 Abbeyfield Road, Sheffield, S4 7AZ (PE, WD)

Woodbrooke College, 1046 Bristol Road, Birmingham B29 6LJ (021-472 5172) (PE)

(Key: I—Ireland, PE—Peace Education, N—Nuclear Weapons, WD—World Development).

BOOKSHOPS

CND Bookshop, 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (01-263 5673)
Friends Bookshop, Friends House, Euston Road, London W1
Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX (01-837 4473)
Mennonite Bookshop, 14 Shepherds Hall, London N6 5AQ

(There are also many local peace shops in various parts of the country.)

C. Periodicals

Vision One — magazine of the BCC, available through member churches from the BCC.
One World — WCC magazine, from the BCC.
Grassroots — bi-monthly from Celebration Publishing, 57 Dorchester Road, Lychett Minster, Poole, Dorset. Concerned with Christian renewal and examines issues in this light.
Christian Action Journal — quarterly from Christian Action. Each issue deals with a particular topic.
Christian Aid Newsletter — quarterly newsletter from Christian Aid. Free.
Campaign — CND Activists newspaper, monthly. Available through groups.
Ploughshare — newsletter of Christian CND, quarterly.
Sanity — magazine of CND, monthly from CND or good newsagents.
END Churches Register — quarterly magazine of END Churches Group, from 4 The Square, Clun, Shropshire.
Newspeace — voice of FoR, monthly.
Reconciliation Quarterly — magazine/digest from FoR/Pax Christi/Peace Pledge Union/or Quaker Peace and Service.
New Internationalist — monthly, each issue examines a different aspect of World Development, from: 374 Wandsworth Road, London SW8 4TE.
Oxfam News — bi monthly newsletter of Oxfam, free.
Just Peace — monthly newsheet from Pax Christi.
Peace News — fortnightly magazine produced by the Peace News Collective, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.
The Pacifist — monthly magazine of the Peace Pledge Union.
The Friend — weekly magazine of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).
Spur — newsletter of the World Development Movement, free to members.

(If the address of any organisation is not above it will be found in the list of organisations in Section A.)

D. Education Packs

Choices: Arms Trade role play for 15-30 people, from CAAT, £1.50.
Peace Making in a Nuclear Age — pack of 'defence issues', material from

CND, MOD, etc. From Scottish Episcopal Church, Cathedral Office, High Street, Dundee DD1 1TD. £1.

Peace and Poverty Pack: £1 from QPS.

The Peace Pack: posters, exhibition material, simulation games, fact file and more, all on the nuclear issue, from New Internationalist, 42 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EP. £4.75 incl. postage.

Patriotism and Peace — Study Pack on Nuclear Weapons. A study of peacemaking and defence. For adult groups and leaders/speakers. From Brian Wren, Diocesan Education Office, Church House, North Hinksey, Oxford OX2 0NB. 1983. £2.70 (post paid). (Cheques to 'Diocesan Education Office'.)

E. Books and Pamphlets

The books on the subject of nuclear weapons, peace and justice are growing in number all the time. Never before has there been so many informative publications available. This list is of necessity only partial. Most of these books can be obtained in peace/radical bookshops; many are now sold in high-street bookshops and are available in public libraries.

1. The Nuclear Issue

a) General books—

Armaments or Disarmament: excellent information provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: 1982.

As Lambs to the slaughter, the facts about nuclear war by Paul Rogers, M. Dando and P. van den Dungen: Arrow: 1981.

Common Security, report of the Palme Commission: Pan: 1982.

Defence without Offence — non-nuclear defence for Europe, by Frank Barnaby: Bradford University School of Peace Studies/Housmans: 1982.

Defence without the Bomb: Alternative Defence Commission report 1983.

Defended to Death, a study of the nuclear arms race from the Cambridge Disarmament Seminar. Edited by Gwyn Prins: Penguin: 1983.

From Hiroshima to Harrisburg. Jim Garrison: SCM Press: 1980

Guide to Nuclear Weapons 1982-83, by Paul Rogers — detailed information about the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons: Bradford University School of Peace Studies/Housmans. 1982

Hiroshima by John Hersey: Penguin: 1981

How to get rid of the Bomb — peace action handbook by Gavin Scott: Fontana: 1982

London After the Bomb, by Owen Green and others: OUP: 1982

Overkill by John Cox: Penguin: 1981

The CND Story, edited by John Minnion and Philip Bolsover: Allison and Busby: 1983

The Fate of the Earth, by Jonathan Schell: Picador: 1982

The Medical Effects of Nuclear War: British Medical Association: 1983
The nuclear numbers game: Radical statistics: 1982
Unforgettable Fire, pictures and commentary from A-Bomb survivors: edited by Japan Broadcasting Corporation
When the Wind Blows, a cartoon book by Raymond Briggs: Hamish Hamilton: 1982

b) The Christian Viewpoint

A matter of Faith — Discussion booklet poduced by Sojourners (US) and available from the Mennonite Centre, 14 Shepherds Hill, London N6: £2
A Study Guide to the Anglican Report — Christian Action Journal: Winter 82/83. Available from Christian Action, 43 Holywell Hill, St. Albans, Herts (80p)
Christians as Peacemakers by Audrey Kelly: 1983: pamphlet from Quaker Peace and Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London (90p)
Christian Perspectives on Nuclear Weapons, by Sydney Bailey, a BCC Pamphlet: 1981: from BCC, 2 Eaton Gate, London SW1
Darkening Valley — a biblical perspective on nuclear war by Dale Aukerman: Seabury: 1981
Disarmament, the Unanswerable Case by John Ferguson: Heinemann: 1982
Ethics and Nuclear Deterrence, edited by Geoffrey Goodwin: Croom Helm: 19082
Nuclear Deterrence, Right or Wrong by Roger Ruston OP: A Justice and Peace Commission pamplet: 1982
Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope by Ronald Sider and Richard Taylor: Hodder and Stoughton: 1983
Nuclear Weapons and Christian Conscience by W. Stein: Merlin: 1981
The Big Sin by Dr. Kenneth Greet: Marshalls: 1982
The Church and the Bomb, Report of the Church of England Working Party, chaired by the Bishop of Salisbury: CIO: 1982
The Darkness of God, theology after Hiroshima by Jim Garrison: SCM Press: 1982
The Cross or the Bomb, Pax Christi pamphlet for group discussion, available from St. Francis of Assisi Centre, Pottery Lane, London W11
The Risk of the Cross, Christian discipleship in the nuclear age by Christopher Grannis, Laffin and Schade: Seabury Press: 1981

2. Pacifism/Nonviolence

A Technique of Loving, nonviolence in Indian and Christian Tradition by Peter Bishop. Looks at examples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King: SCM Press: 1981

Christ and Violence by Ronald Sider: Lion Publishing: 1980
Civil Disobedience as Christian Obedience by Steven Mackie: a study commissioned by the Division of International Affairs of the BCC and co-published with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. From BCC, FoR etc. (50p)
Fellowship briefings — produced by the FoR, 9 Coombe Road, New Malden, Surrey. A series of short papers dealing with pacifisim, nonviolence and just war
Introduction to Non-Violence Training — a Peace News Broadcast, from Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham
Larzac — a victory for nonviolence by Roger Rawlinson: A QPS pamphlet: 1983
Nonviolence in the Christian Tradition by Gerard Vanderhaar: A Pax Christi pamphlet
Paying for Peace by Fiona MacKenzie: 1982 (A QPS pamphlet — 75p)
The Politics of Love by John Ferguson: James Clark & Co: 1982
The Struggle for Humanity, agents of nonviolent change in a Violent World by Marjorie Hope and James Young: Orbis, Maryknoll, USA: 1979
War and the Christian by George Caird (A FoR pamphlet)
Winners All, co-operative games for all ages (A Pax Christi pamphlet)

3. Peace and Justice

Action for International Justice and Peace — a handbook for groups (Pax Christi)
Aid as Imperialism, by Teresa Hayter: Pelican
Bombs for Breakfast, available from Campaign Against the Arms Trade: 75p
Brandt Reports 1 and 2
Cry Justice by Ronald Sider: Paulist: 1980
Disarmament and Development — cartoon sheet produced by Centre for World Development Education
Good News for All by James Pitt (CAFOD)
Rich Christians in an age of Hunger by Ronald Sider: Hodders: 1977
Rich Man, Poor Man and the Bible: Boerma: SCM: 1979
Safe and Sound — Development and Disarmament in the 1980s by C. Sanger: Zed Press: 1982
Seeking Peace — a study guide for church house groups: Christian Aid: 10p
The Arms Traders — lists leading UK arms exporters, from CAAT
The Californian Crusade of Cesar Chavez, by Christopher Child: QPS: 1980 (60p)
The Politics of Jesus, by John Yoder: Eardsmans: 1972

The Wretched of the Earth by F. Fanon: Pelican
World Military and Social Expenditures by Ruth Sivard: World Priorities: 1982 (This is published annually and is available from CAAT)

4. Ireland

A Place Apart — D. Murphy, Penguin, £1.25
Ireland and Britain — 1619-1919 — the Search for Peace — David Blakely, available from the FoR, 60p plus 17p p & p
Northern Ireland — a Problem to Every Solution — Dennis Barratt, available from Pax Christi, 30p
Ourselves and Ireland — Lichfield Diocese Board of Social Responsibility, available from them or from Pax Christi, 30p
Peace and Reconciliation Projects in Ireland — Ian Ellis, available from Housman
Peace Education Newsletter on N. Ireland — No. 8, Autumn '82, available from FoR 90p
Peace in N. Ireland — Catholic Truth Society, available from them
The Agony of Ireland — S. Callaghan, available from the Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility, 30p
The Irish Problem and Ourselves — Elliott and Ecclestone, Church of England Board of Social Responsibility, 45p
Violence in Ireland — a report to the churches, available from Pax Christi, £1
What can I do about Peace in N. Ireland? — free pamphlet, available from Pax Christi.

F. Films and visual aids

The best source of films on peace/justice themes is probably: **Concorde Films Council,** 201 Felixstowe Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 9BJ (0473 76012). Some of the titles stocked by them are: *The War Game, The Bomb, War without Winners, Nixon's secret legacy, Attention.* They produce a good catalogue.

Shaftesbury Project Study Group on war and peace has produced two filmstrips/slide-tape sets. These are: *War to end all wars* (discussion of Christian views on war) and *Peacemongers* (practical ideas for working against nuclear weapons). Both can be bought or hired from the Shaftesbury Project Audio-Visuals, 8 Oxford Street, Nottingham NG1 5BH.

Arming the world: 28 min. slide/tape presentation on the arms trade. Hire £3.50 from Campaign Against the Arms Trade.

The Big If . . . The ecnomic consequences of the arms race, made for the UN. Hire £10 from Christian Aid.

Brotherhood Yes, Violence No — available from Christian Aid.

Central Office of Information: will supply free of charge a range of films showing the government side of the arguments about disarmament. For details of these films contact: COI Film Library, Chalfont Grove, Gerrards Cross, Bucks SL9 8TN (02-407 4111).

Display material

Posters: a wide selection is available from Quaker Peace and Service.

Live and let die: set of 32 posters from CAAT, £4.

CND picture show — 30 A3 posters.

Civil Defence Exhibition — 6 boards, 2ft. x 3ft. from Spark, 17 Helix Gardens, London SW2 2JJ.

THE NATIONAL CENTRE FOR CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES AND NETWORKS

The National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks was established as a registered charity in November 1981. Its aim is to support and assist Christian groups, communities and networks pioneering new approaches to Christian life and witness at the local level throughout Britain; and to help create and develop links between such groups so that experience, ideas and resources can be shared more fully. The National Centre has a resources unit, publishes the magazine *Community,* holds consultations, organizes courses, undertakes research, and is linked to local areas through a network of Contact Centres.

The National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks is situated at Westhill College, Selly Oak, Birmingham B29 6LL. Telephone:021 472 8079.

Associates of the Centre. Groups and individuals can become Associates of the Centre and thereby receive the magazine *Community,* the Associates' *Newsletter* and other publications. Details available from the National Centre.

THE NATIONAL CENTRE FOR CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES AND NETWORKS

PUBLICATIONS

Community magazine—published three times a year. £3 (UK) and £4.50 (abroad).

Directory of Christian Communities and Groups—contains annotated notes on nearly 400 Christian communities and groups throughout Britain. £1.75 (post paid).

New Christian Initiatives Series

No. 1 The Family in Transition by Jeanne Hinton with reflections by Monica Furlong. An enquiry into the involvement of Christians in new patterns of family life. Resources section. £1.50; Associates £1.35 (post paid).

No. 2 Christian Community and Cultural Diversity by Barbara Holden and Eric Rolls with reflections by Kenneth Cracknell. Examines the ways in which Christian groups are seeking to relate to those of other races and faiths within British society. Resources section. £1.50; Associates £1.35 (post paid).

No. 3 Theology in the Making edited by Ruth Musgrave with reflections by Rex Ambler and David Clark. Examines how theology and practice can better inform one another in the life and work of Christian groups in Britain. Resources section. £1.50; Associates £1.35 (post paid).

No. 4 Christian Initiatives in Community Education edited by Liz Ross with reflections by David Clark and Lesslie Newbigin. Describes pioneering Christian ventures in participatory learning and the sharing of skills and resources for the benefit of the whole community. £1.75; Associates £1.50 (post paid).

No. 5 Christian Voluntary Organizations in a Secular Society — Where Next? edited and introduced by Hilary Finlay with reflections by Chris Williams. Christian voluntary organizations, national and local, describe how they are attempting to express their faith commitment in a secular society. £1.75; Associates £1.50 (post paid).

No. 6 Christian Initiatives in Peacemaking edited and introduced by Barbara Eggleston with reflections by David Gosling. Describes approaches to peacemaking by a wide cross-section of deeply involved Christian groups. £1.75; Associates £1.50 (post paid).

Cheques for **all** the above should be made out and sent to the **National Centre for Christian Communities and Networks** at Westhill College, Selly Oak, Birmingham B29 6LL.